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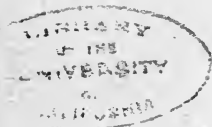
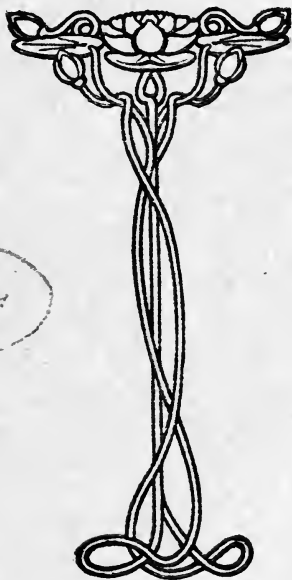
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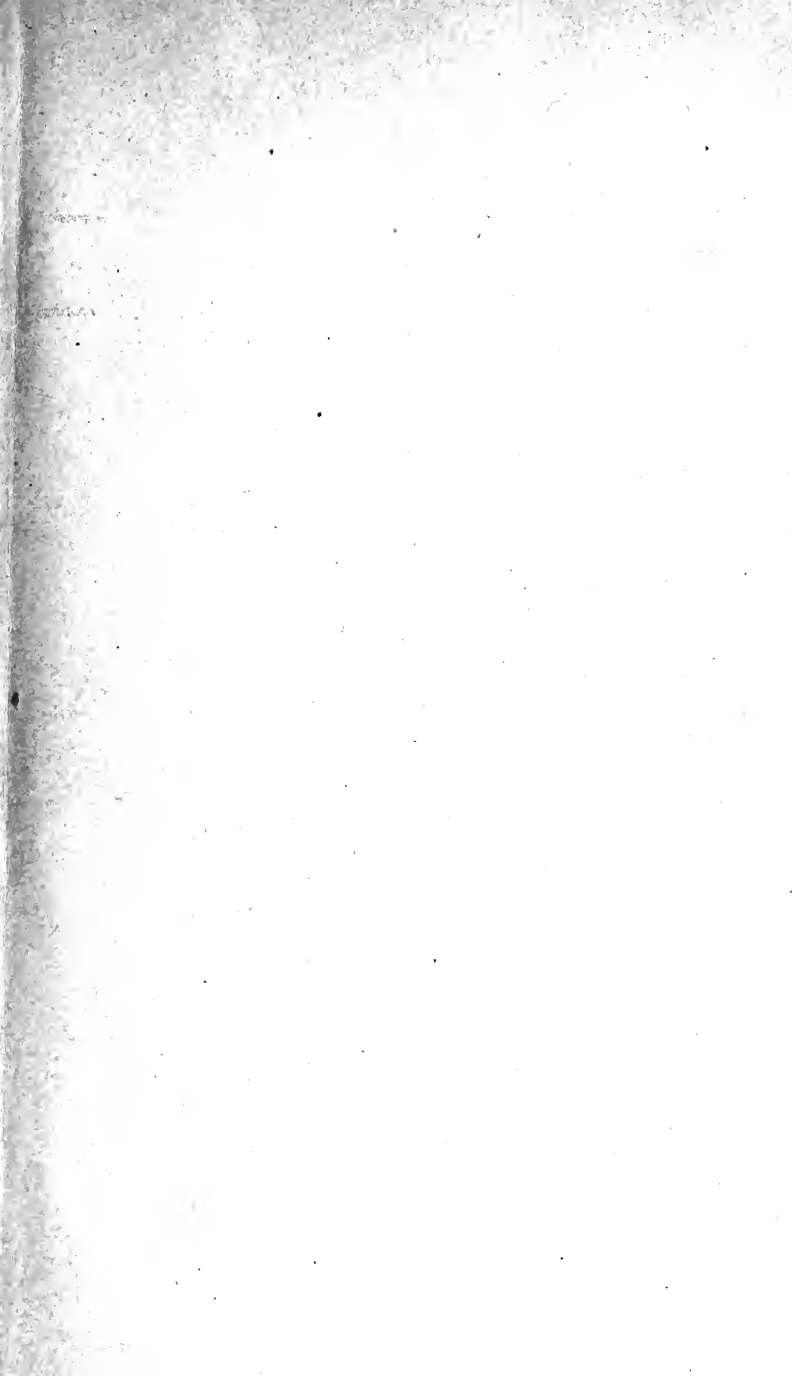
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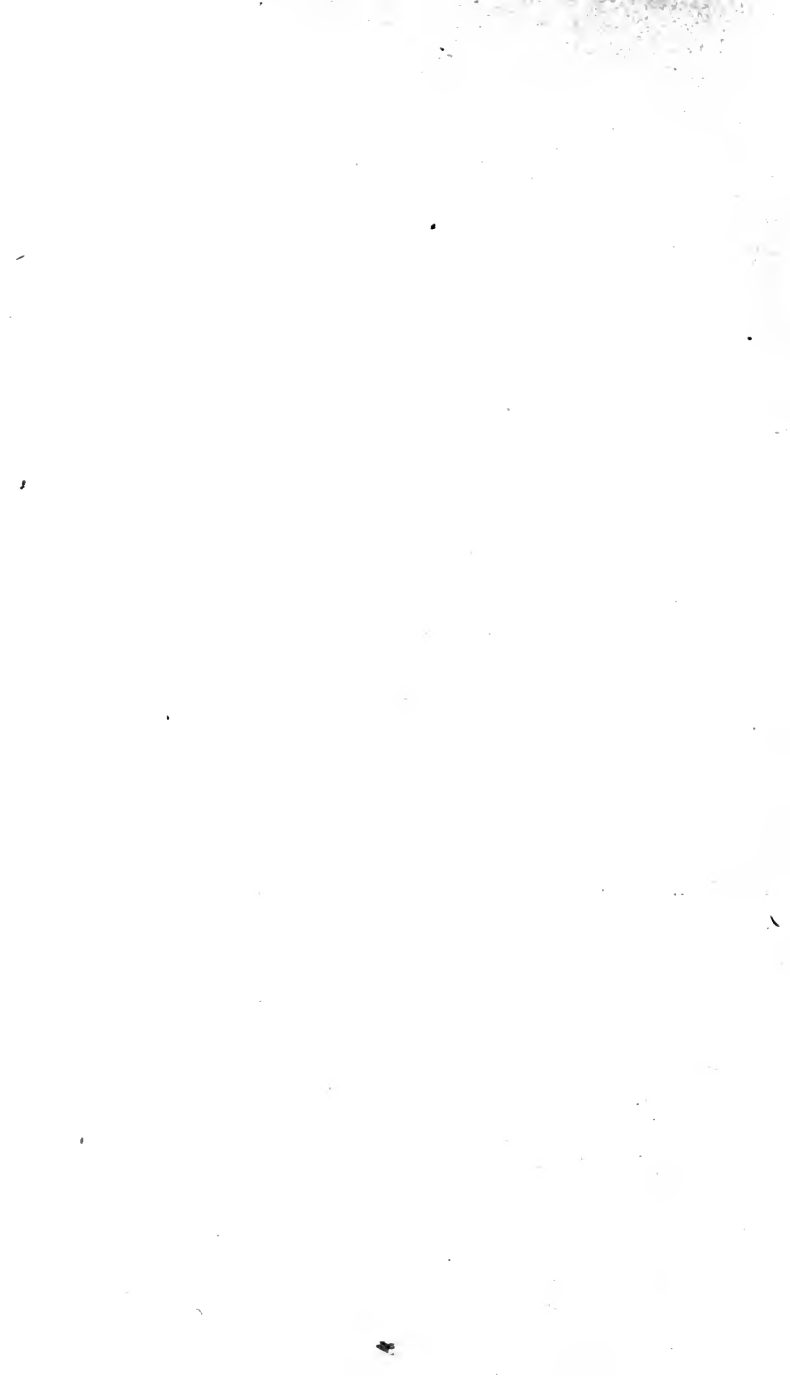
# The Breakdown of the Gothenburg System



By ERNEST GORDON









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*The Breakdown of the  
Gothenburg System*

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# THE BREAKDOWN OF THE GOTHENBURG SYSTEM

By ERNEST GORDON

*"The Gothenburg procedure of buying up the drink-hops, suppressing some and operating others, has naturally from our point of view no justification. It suits only the schemes of those who believe in 'moderation' and who will neither work for nor understand a thoroughgoing reform. It goes without saying that for all clear heads universal prohibition is the end aimed at."*—Dr. Matthaei, Physician on the General Staff of the German Army.

*"We have a good army for reviews but a bad one for war."*—Persian Official to Lord Curzon.

*"What medicine cannot touch, iron will heal, and what iron will not heal, fire will cure."*

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**NOTE**—The words *Samlag* and *Bolag* are the Norwegian and Swedish synonyms respectively for the word *Company*. They are loosely used for drink-selling places.

# The Breakdown of the Gothenburg System

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## CHAPTER I.

### Introduction.

There have been hitherto two classes of reporters on the Gothenburg System,—first, the theoretical who explain how admirably it must work because of the ingenuity of its mechanism;—secondly, the statistical who seek to prove by figures of declining consumption that it does work, all the while neglecting the historical and prohibitory factors to which these results are chiefly due.

What is now needed is a third kind of reporter who will show how little satisfactorily the System actually does work. He has but to live in any Scandinavian community, small or large, where the Company shop is planted and to snap from time to time his mental kodak. He will soon get material enough to disprove the fairest Gothenburg theory.

This little booklet is an assortment of such pictures which have been sent at intervals to American papers. It has nothing in it of Wordsworth's

“keen research,  
Unbiased, unbewildered, and unmoved.”

The book which will prove scientifically the failure of the Gothenburg System to solve the drink problem is yet to be written. This is published as a possible stop-gap until such a work appears. It is hoped that it may give pause to any well-meaning efforts to transplant this institution to America as a substitute for prohibition.

The great advantage of prohibitory legislation is that it sooner or later weans the population as a whole from the drink habit. Anyone who has lived a few years in Northern New England would be convinced of this if he but recalled the conditions prevailing there fifty years ago when drink was used on harvest fields, at barn raisings, at “musters,” at weddings, at funerals, at church-dedications and at every other function of social life. The enemies of prohibition insist that alcoholism is but driven under. The Committee of Fifty, for example, claims that this concealed alcoholism is indicated by an excessive consumption of patent medicines in prohibition areas. Such an abnormal consumption is, however, but a figment of these investigators’ mythopoeic fancy. There is absolutely no statistical or other reliable proof of its existence. Turning to Scandinavia on the other hand one finds the Company drink-shop continually educating new relays into the drink habit. And the substi-

tutes which do **not** play an important rôle in Maine appear here alongside of the ordinary drinks. The sequence is first beer, then spirits, then every imaginable villanous compound. Thus one reads in a Swedish newspaper of a little town in Darlecarlia, that charming, picturesque, and characteristically Swedish province, where the angry people get together in mass-meeting to protest against the sale by the local druggist of lyptol, salubrin, and eau de cologne as beverages. Indeed the abnormal appetite developed by the Gothenburg drink-shop has carried drinkers so far that Swedish chemists are considering the desirability of putting emetics in denatured spirits.<sup>(1)</sup> The 1909

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(1) Socialists in Molnlycke (28 Feb. '09) consider the following question: "What can be done to prevent the use of denatured spirits as a drink?"

It was reported "that denatured spirits were widely used for this purpose among working men and that the consequences were ruinous to body and brain in an extreme degree."

Mr. Karlsson of Gothenburg offered (1910) to the Swedish parliament a bill to regulate the sale of denatured spirits. He wants the amount sold to a given person limited, the hours of sale reduced and the number of selling places cut down. He said in his speech introducing the measure: "We have sad experiences in Gothenburg and the neighboring parishes where furniture is made in hundreds of homes, of the way in which denatured spirits are used for intoxicating drink. This abuse has so developed that the guardians of the poor in Gothenburg are urging thorough reform in the matter of selling industrial alcohol." That there is need of government action appears from the last report of the chief

report of the Christiania Samlag says (p. 17): "In spite of a sharp control on the part of the police—uniformed and secret—it has not been possible to overcome the illegal sale of brandy and of furniture polish for drinking purposes. This illegal brandy sale seems almost to increase on the streets and in doorways, although many have been brought before the courts and very heavy fines have been imposed as a rule. Denatured spirits also are still used for intoxication in various parts of the city." And within ten days of the writing an order has been issued by the Norwegian government to all sellers of furniture polish in Christiania to desist from selling that article at hours when the Company shops are closed. Would such an order be required in Portland, Maine, or Fargo, N. Dakota?

The Gothenburg System while constantly renewing the constituency of alcoholists furnishes no effective guarantee against illegal selling. Indeed the fulfilling of its first malign function clears the way for the last named phenomenon. Students of the alcohol problem are beginning to realize that, paradoxical as it may seem at first thought, illicit sale flourishes where the sale of drink is legalized even more than in prohibitory places. In Philadelphia, for example, the number of speak-easies according to the Committee

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provincial physician of Gävleborg province. He declares that cologne, salubrin, etc., are bought and drunk to a very wide extent and that the vice is spreading, especially in Hälsingland.



of Fifty "exceeds by not a little that of licensed dealers"—in other words, is probably greater than the entire number of all such illicit sellers in the older prohibition states, Maine, Kansas and North Dakota. If the illicit sellers in all the "wet" sections of the United States were counted up they would presumably outnumber relatively those of the "dry" regions. This, too, must be remembered, that as time passes the number of alcohol users in prohibitory regions tends to decrease by death and with them the illicit sale which ministered to them. The eminent statistician, Prof. Harald Westergaard of the University of Copenhagen, gives an illustration from Denmark of the same sociological law. He declares from a study of 1,495 replies to his question as to the extent of illegal selling that Sjaelland, the province with by far the largest number of legal drink shops, has illicit drinking-places in 33 per cent of its parishes; Fyn and the other islands in 19 per cent; and Jylland, where temperance sentiment is strongest and drink-shops relatively fewest, in but 11 per cent of the parishes.<sup>(2)</sup>

Legal sale does not therefore as a rule diminish illegal sale. This is so under the Company System as under the license systems of America and Denmark. "Morgenbladet" of Christiania remarked the other day that in the central quarter of that city it seemed as if the stair-cases and hallways had become quite general-

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(2) "Denmarks Kultur ved Aar 1900" p. 143-144.

ly the business places of boot-leggers. But there is no lack of drinking facilities in the Norwegian capital. "It has been proved," says Dr. Scharffenberg, an authority on the Gothenburg System, "that there were more illegal sales in Frederikstad after the re-establishment of the Samlag in 1904 than in 1903 when it was closed." Indeed the Gothenburg System itself has been known to have had a finger in unlawful business and on no small scale. Thus some time ago it was discovered that the Artisans Union of Trondhjem, which was selling drink without legal permission, obtained its supplies to the extent of 18,000 kroner yearly from the Gothenburg drink-shop. The management confessed that it was well aware that it was breaking the law.

The fact so often dwelt on that the income of the Company stockholders is severely limited does not work out as one theoretically would suppose it would. Business men like to see the enterprise they manage prosper even though they do not profit greatly by it. It is possible, however, that they do profit in certain questionable ways. Dr. Scharffenberg hints at commissions from the distillers who supply the companies, New Years gifts, and various forms of *tantième*.<sup>(1)</sup> The writer picked up recently from the seat of a railway carriage in Sweden a local paper which displayed on its front page the annual report of the Gothenburg

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(1) Afholds Politiske Spørgsmaal No. 2, p. 70. By Dr. Johan Scharffenberg.

shop at Kungsbacka. Four things were noticeable:

First: The men who directed the affair and whose names were given at the top all belonged to "the classes." They were bankers, landed proprietors, merchants and consuls. In other words this is a pet institution of the rich.

Second: Of the expenses just one quarter was salary paid to the directors. This is no doubt a potent reason why such believe in the success of their institution.

Third: Of the sales only between one-fifth and one-sixth were in drinks. Nearly five-sixths of the value sold was bottled. When a man buys a bottle of brandy there is no automatic brake which will come into action to keep him sober. So far as five-sixths of the trade of this institution is concerned, therefore, all the safe-guards which are claimed for it are inoperative.

Fourth: The second column of the report was almost entirely taken up with attempts to explain a considerable shortage in the stock on hand. This suggests scandal such as seems invariably to attach to the alcohol traffic.

That in practise the Gothenburg System has miserably failed to produce ideal results is patent on every hand. One last example. The tobacconist shops display in their windows this week a full page cartoon of "Vikingen," the Norwegian comic paper, in which the new recruits leaving for Gardemoen, the army's central camp and drill grounds, are represented as be-

ing carried by their officers into the train. It is no exaggeration! Certain of the railroad personnel said to a representative of "Örebladet," "Never before have we 'shipped' so many drunken soldiers. The higher officers as well as sub-officers had literally to haul and push the helpless young fellows into the trains."

Such are the fruits of the Samlag's regulations and restrictions. A system which in Sweden has run up arrests for drunkenness 400 per cent since its establishment (from 10,831 in 1865 to 42,500 in 1905)<sup>(1)</sup> and which in Norway has given us 9,384<sup>(2)</sup> arrests in one year in a city of 230,000 people (Christiania) has nothing to teach Americans who are reaching out for better things in their own land. The most inadequately enforced prohibition law is more satisfactory.

Fifteen years ago there was a certain Mr. Gustav Thomann, who was wont to emerge at state-house hearings when the brewing interests were in any way threatened by temperance legislation. At one of the earlier Anti-alcohol Congresses, the one held in Zürich

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(1) Petersson, "Svenska rusdryckslagstiftningen och Göteborgs-systemet," p. 59. Of course the population of Sweden has not increased in anything like this proportion.

(2) The report of the Central Statistical Bureau, "Bracn-devinssamlagene og forbruket av braendevin, vin og öl," 1907, p. 27) gives under the caption of "Straffaelde för drukken-skap, etc." (i. e., drunk and disorderly) for the five years 1900-1904 inclusive, an average of 18,042 arrests each year in Christiania. Eleven hundred and twenty of these yearly arrests were of women.

in 1887, this attorney of the brewers represented the United States! The best thing that could be done at the banquet which closed the congress was to arrange that it should be "half alcohol-free," i. e., that those who did not wish to drink could refrain from so doing!

Events have marched rapidly since then. Modern investigation has about finished its great work on the *corpus vile* of alcohol. As a consequence "moderation" has been abandoned for abstinence. To abstinence prohibition is the inevitable correlary. The Eleventh International Anti-alcohol Congress (1907), convened in the high places of the Gothenburg System, contemptuously repudiated that whole arrangement. The Congress of 1909, which met in London, saw the formation of an International Prohibition Federation.

And when in the United States the popular moral conscience already accomplishing so much shall have the reinforcement which modern scientific leaders stand ready to give it, great things will indeed happen.

For at last the time of compromises, high-license, dispensaries, Scandinavian exotics,—is over. From now on it is to be a straight fight for the destruction of the whole traffic. Sooner or later all must line up for or against.

"Die ihr den grossen Kampf der Zeit

Ausfechten wollt, herbei ihr Ritter!

Sprecht welcher sach' ihr euch geweiht,

Sprecht frei durch's offne Helmegitter!

Entweder, oder!"

## CHAPTER II.

### Ex-President White of Cornell on the Gothenburg System.

In his entertaining reminiscences the honored ex-president of Cornell University devotes some pages to a discussion of the drink problem on which as he remarks, he "has reflected seriously." Visiting Sweden some years ago he took pains to obtain information regarding the Gothenburg System and "became satisfied that it was the best solution of the problem ever obtained."

Dr. White's observations fall into two classes,—those of a general nature and those which have to do particularly with the success of the Company System in Norway and Sweden. He opens with the familiar statement of the extremely temperate habits of the wine-drinking Latin peoples. The Italians, whom he cites first are not, however, so sparing in their use of alcohol as tourists would have us believe. Their consumption per capita is more than twice as great as that of the American people.<sup>(1)</sup> As to the French

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(1) Vide Sundbärg, "Aperçus statistiques internationaux"—11e année. The order is France 18.9 liters (absolute alcohol), Belgium 13.2, Italy and Switzerland 12 each and the United States 5.5.

Dr. White has in time past set in contrast the theologian and science. One might suggest in view of these travelers'

their progress along "the primrose path" has been all too rapid as Dr. White himself confesses. France is indeed the largest consumer of alcohol in the world. Nor can this be due to any rise in the price of light wines as is suggested by Dr. White. Actually the prices of wines have fallen so low as to lead to revolutionary movements on the part of the wine growers

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accounts of European sobriety a similar opposition of the tourist and science. Dr. White has visited Italy twelve times and gives it a clean bill of health as far as drunkenness is concerned. An objective study of the subject issued by the "Federazione Antialcoolista Italiana" (*"L'Alcoolismo é un Pericolo per l'Italia"* Milano, 1909) tells a different story. Dr. Arcelli, for example, reports on infantile alcoholism. An enquête carried on in the schools of Milan among 38,462 children (p. 21) brings to light the fact that 24.8 per cent of the boys and 11 per cent of the girls confess to have been intoxicated at various times. On pp. 127-138 are given tables of the number of drink-selling places in Italian cities. Milan had in 1907, 5,225,—one to every 46 resident males. The 634 streets and squares of the city average 8 drinking places each. Turin has 2,482 saloons, one to every 55 male adults. For every bakery in Turin there are six places where drink is sold. The growth of alcoholic psychoses is exposed in a report of the Florentine alienist Dr. Amaldi, (*Rivista sperimentale di freniatria*, vol. 34, 1903.) In the 45 asylums of the kingdom, of 38,764 patients 3,398 are suffering from alcoholic insanities. But in some asylums the percentage is far higher. That of Ancona reaches 40 per cent. Wine alcoholism is responsible for an important proportion of these distressing statistics. Pp. 23-105 are taken up with an exhaustive enquiry among the royal procurators of every province of Italy as to the relation of alcohol to crime. "The

of South France, movements which only recently seemed about to precipitate a political overturn. How little wine effects as a prophylactic against the use of higher saturations of alcohol is indicated by the following confession from "L'Etoile Bleue," (Dec., 1909,) the organ of the "Ligue Nationale contre L'Alcoolisme," an organization neutral as far as wine

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opinion as to the great danger in which Italy stands from alcoholism is practically unanimous." "In this circuit alcoholism is a very great plague," writes the procurator of Undine. The number of saloons is enormous. Sixty-five per cent of the crimes of violence are due to drink." The procurator of Treviso attributes more than half of the local crime including crimes of carnal violence, to drink. In Padua "the number of drunkards is not small. Crime and frequent suicides are largely to be set down to drink." From Venice: "The vice of drunkenness is widespread and deeply rooted and the number of drink-shops continually increases." Brescia: "Eighty per cent of the crimes of violence result from the use of alcohol." The Milan prosecutor says: "It falls to my lot frequently to have to sum up the causes of a tragedy in two words—wine and knife. Alcoholism is one of the great evils afflicting North Italy. An enormous number of poison-distributing shops infest our city." Como: "More than half of our crimes against persons are committed in a state of intoxication and three-fourths of the thieving is the result of the waste of wages in drink-shops." Parma: "The increase in wages and the cheapness of wine have led to a growth of drunkenness." Ancona: "The advance of alcoholism is caused by the vast movement to and from America. (This is a complaint which occurs frequently in these reports and elsewhere). There are 9,579 drink-shops in this circuit." In Lucca and Florence "the very greatest proportion of



is concerned though battling vigorously against other forms of alcoholica. "It is particularly sad," so it runs, "to have to affirm that the departments till lately considered least in danger from alcohol because of their great winecrops—Card, Herault, Bouches-du-

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quarrels and bloodlettings result from drink." From Leghorn come reports of a popular drink, "ponci," in which sulphuric ether and tannic acid are important elements. "The stranger who visits this city cannot but be depressed," says this procurator, "at the sight of the innumerable bars thronged continually by people of both sexes and all ages flagrantly given over to this vice. Drinking and quarreling have become the inveterate and daily habits of entire classes in our society. This terrible scourge threatens to sterilize the best seed of our race." Iserina: "Alcohol has become one of the most insidious factors of social pathology." The procurator of S. Angelo dei Lombardi quotes Dr. Legrain's definition of a saloon as "a laboratory of moral poison" and remarks that in many cases which have come before his court the criminal confesses to have deliberately charged himself with wine or other alcohol solutions as a preparation for committing crime.

To return to Sweden. Dr. Jacques Bertillon says (*L'Alcoolisme et les Moyens de le combattre*, p. 213): "I ought to remark that I have hardly seen a man intoxicated in the two visits I have made to Gothenburg. Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell met but one." Then this naive Sir John Mandeville proceeds to print the table of arrests for Gothenburg from 1879, when 39 drunkards were taken up to the thousand of the population, to 1898, when the number had risen to 57 to the thousand, or some 7,000 yearly! And thus he gives us a fairly good guage of the value of these passing tourist observations.

Rhône, Var, Vaucluse, Pyrenees—Orientales, Saône et Loire, are most ravaged with absinthe."

Dr. White declares next that "the European if he ever takes distilled liquor sips a very small glass of it after dinner to aid digestion." To any inclined to accept this extremely favorable picture of European customs the writer would recommend a day or two spent among the miners of the Borinage (South Hainault) or in the similar regions of Upper Silesia. Failing this it would be sufficient to read such frightful studies as Dr. Wlassak's on spirit drinking among the work people of Moravia or Massard's "*De l'Alcoolisme dans le Quartier St. Antoine.*" The last writer, for example, says that from the Hôpital St. Antoine to the Place de la Bastille there are 87 drink-shops to 150 houses and that their average output is fifteen absinthes to each of every other kind of drink including wine.<sup>(2)</sup>

Again, Dr. White ventures the following: "The best temperance workers among us that I know are the men who brew light, pure beer." He means, we take it, such representative brewers as Pabst and Schlitz of Milwaukee and Seipp of Chicago who either by mortgage or by ownership are said to control 75 per cent of the saloons of Chicago which they use as

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(2) As a matter of fact the per capita consumption of 50 per cent spirits is given by the statistician Sundbârg for 1908,—for the United States, 5.36 liters; for Europe as a whole, 6.94 liters.

outlets for their manufactured product. We wonder if there is another person within the bounds of the United States who believes these men and their subordinates to be effective "temperance workers." We should like to ask further if Dr. White has ever looked into a certain classic on the beer danger by Dr. Hoppe?<sup>(3)</sup> Or does he know the position of Professors Gruber, Kraepelin, and Buchner of the University of the beer metropolis of Munich on this subject?<sup>(4)</sup> We can assure him that he stands in his opinion at the very antipodes from them.

Fourthly, he remarks that beer and wine used to excess aid in freeing the next generation from men of vicious propensities and weak will. Modern science however proves precisely the reverse.<sup>(5)</sup> Indeed it has put into the hands of the prohibitionist no stronger weapon than the investigations which show the blastophthoric workings of alcohol. Two illustrations will

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(3) "Die Biergefahr" (20th thousand). See also his "Das Bier als Volksgetränk."

(4) Prof. Kraepelin is authority for the statement that in 1905 of all the insane in the Munich psychiatric clinic, one-third were beer alcoholists.

(5) Dr. Fock remarks that from the point of view of race hygiene it is not the completely degenerate progeny of drinkers who are the worst for society, since they are doomed to extinction but those on the middle grades not wholly degenerate but of less value who lower the general average.

The number of degenerates disappearing is small in view of the constantly increasing number of alcoholists.

Publications of the Alkohol-Gegner Bund. No. 39.

suffice to indicate that far from cleansing the race from weak wills and intelligences alcohol increases their number in succeeding generations enormously—that it is in fact as Prof. Forel says the chief producer of “Untermenschen.”

a. Dr. Bezzola has investigated the life history of over 9,000 idiots in Swiss asylums. One of the striking facts brought to light is the following. Having secured the date of each person's birth, he reckoned back nine months to the date of begetting and found that in the majority of cases this fell at a season when much alcohol was used, as carnival, New Year's, or vintage times.

b. Dr. MacNichol at the instance of the New York Academy of Medicine examined 55,000 school children with special reference to the inherited results of alcoholism. We have no space for the details of his weighty studies but will quote merely one summarized table of statistics:

1. Of those free from hereditary alcoholism  
96 per cent were proficient.  
4 per cent were dullards.
2. Of those suffering from hereditary alcoholic taint  
23 per cent were proficient.  
77 per cent were dullards.

We pass now to Dr. White's observations on the Gothenburg System. He says first that it has greatly diminished intemperance. This is often asserted by observers who have not really studied the subject. But the two prohibitory features embedded in the legisla-

tion of 1852 to which friends of the system almost never call attention are quite sufficient to explain any decrease of drinking in Sweden. First private distilling was prohibited. This broke up or carried off the family still from thousands of farms. Again there was actual prohibition of the sale of spirits in nearly the whole of rural Sweden. In Norway similar legislation effected similar results. Thanks to the law of 1845 consumption of spirits sank from 16 liter per cap. in 1833 to 4.4 liters in 1865. Not till 1871 came the Samlag. Since then the decrease has been slight.

Furthermore the magnificent temperance agitation which has among other things made every ninth person in Norway a member of one or another temperance society has certainly contributed largely to the result. If the same ratio prevailed in the United States we should have nine millions of members of temperance organizations instead of the not more than two million at present.

Such facts as these are not cited by Dr. White in explanation of the advance along the road to abstinence which Scandinavia has undoubtedly made. Like so many others he lays stress on features of the System which to the writer seem comparatively unimportant. He says for example, that "no drink is sold without something to eat with it." This is not true. One may buy a liter of spirits from a Company store as freely as in a Bowery dive. Nominally one is required when buying a single drink to purchase eatables with it. Actually as the writer has observed a dirty half

cracker with a thin bit of cheese on it is made to do service a dozen times, being shoved back and forth from bar-maid to successive drinkers and never eaten.

Secondly, he characterises the drinking places as "clean, tidy and decent." We have seen such in Norway. But in general and especially in the poorer quarters of the large cities they are greasy, ill-smelling, crowded. One in particular which formerly stood at the corner of Östermalms Torg in Stockholm comes to mind as a disgraceful example. It must be added however that the financial prosperity of the Company—which with the Carnegie Brewery is the largest taxpayer in Gothenburg, has enabled it since Dr. White made his observations to put up far more sumptuous drinking places. But the alcoholists one sees in and about these premises are no less miserable and unkempt than formerly.

Thirdly, "only pure liquors are sold<sup>(1)</sup> instead of those that are absolutely poisonous and maddening." But alcohol itself is absolutely poisonous and maddening. Sir Victor Horsley classifies in a most natural way alcohol with diphtheria as a heart poison. Prof. Sims Woodhead, the eminent Cambridge University pathologist, declares it to be the most dangerous poi-

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(1) "The Union of Importers and Exporters in Christiania has called to the attention of the department of commerce the fact that a number of Samlags are importing brandy of an inferior quality. The department has summoned the Samlags to explain." Christiania papers, Jan., 1908.

son in the whole pharmacopoeia. The matter of adulteration therefore is of minor importance. "It is a widespread sophism," said the eminent French physician and anti-alcoholist, Dr. Jacquet, speaking before the Société de Médecine Publique (Feb. 27, 1907) "that an unadulterated drink is a wholesome drink. The purest vitriol remains vitriol. One is astonished, in truth, to be obliged to make so obvious a remark."

Fourthly, "it forbids under penalties selling to men who have drunk too much." This statement recalls the remark of Faust, "If there be no devil whence so many devils?" If selling to those nearly drunk is not customary where do all the staggerers come from and why are the statistics of arrest so high? He continues: "The main point is that the men appointed to sell the drink have no motive to sell more liquor than is consistent with the sobriety of their customers." To this we would object that those who sell the drink are not men at all but women which is no unimportant feature. Certainly not many girls would care to refuse a big rawboned navvy or sailor in an advanced stage of intoxication who demanded more drink.

But neither are the companies themselves as scrupulous as is generally alleged. For instance some years since the Bolag people in Stockholm determined to open a new drinking shop in a quarter where none had existed. The section is one of wharves where much of the coal, oil, lumber, etc., of the city is handled. When the longshoremen heard of the project they circulated a petition against it which was freely signed and pre-

sented to the managers of our benevolent institution. The petition had not the slightest effect and only pressure brought on the city authorities prevented the forcing of this drink-shop on the people.<sup>(1)</sup>

Another instance was reported recently in the Christiania papers. The army people and the city government asked the Company directors of Frederickstad to close a certain shop near the army barracks which was the cause of much disorder. They steadfastly refused to withdraw. I may add that this and all other spirit-shops in the city have since been closed by the disgusted voters.

Furthermore Dr. White has presumably overlooked the fact that the rubric to which he refers has to do only with the sale of spirits. The companies and their agents are free to push the sale of beer to whatever extent they please and their profits on it are subject to no restriction.

Fifthly, he says and repeats the assertion: "I regret to see that the fanatics have recently wrecked the System." In the second volume: "Unfortunately since that time fanatics have obtained control and have passed an entirely prohibitory law with the result, as I understand, that the community is now discovering

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(1) The Hvita Band Förening, branch of the W. C. T. U. in Sweden, has at a cost of 100,000 kroner erected an alcohol-free restaurant and recreation place in this quarter, Wärtan. The longshoremen have not and will not petition against its opening. They know their friends as well as their enemies.



that prohibition does not prohibit and that the worst kinds of liquor are again sold." Here Dr. White has passed into the realm of the imaginative. No such change has taken place in Gothenburg or indeed in Sweden. Conditions remain unfortunately the same as for forty years past. In Norway there is a limited local option law not "an entirely prohibitory law." There is no ground however for applying to its workings the stereotyped anti-prohibition phrases.

An increasing number in both Sweden and Norway would see gladly the transition to a prohibitory regime. Let us recall some of these fanatics. There is Dr. Wallis of the Karolinska Institut, doyen of the medical profession in Sweden, and his colleague Prof. Santesson, and the well-known Baron Hermelin and that charming gentleman, Mr. Ernst Beckman, radical leader in the Swedish Riksdag and the Hon. Sven Aarestad, Minister of Agriculture for Norway, who has recently delivered a remarkable speech in favor of national prohibition. Again there is Dr. Ragnar Vogt, docent in psychiatry in the University of Christiania, whose university record was almost without a parallel and the Norwegian alienist, Dr. Scharffenberg, and Dr. Helenius, author of "Alkohol Spörgsmålet" and favorite pupil of the statistician, Prof. Westergaard also a radical temperance man and Professor Laitinen of Helsingfors whose investigations in the Halle Laboratorium on alcohol and infectious diseases are epoch-making. Then there is the political economist Prof. Gustav Cassels and that gallant soldier, General Axel

Rappe, and the criminal-law professor, Dr. Thyren of the University of Lund whose speech for national prohibition in the last Swedish Riksdag was ordered posted in every commune from Trelleborg to Haparanda, and the psychiatrist Prof. Frey Svensson of Upsala and Prof. Henschen and Prof. Medin and many more. The Crown Prince of Sweden in a recent speech has practically accepted the prohibitionist position.

In a delightful passage Dr. White says of some of the occupants of the Cornell University pulpit: "Becoming acquainted with them I have learned to love many men whom I previously distrusted and have come to see more and more the force of the saying, 'The man I don't like is the man I don't know.'" Another experience of the same sort awaits him when armed with ample introductions he calls on the prohibitionist leaders of Scandinavia.

There is one more statement to which we must take exception. "Of course," says Dr. White, "I shall have the honor of being railed at by every fanatic who reads these lines." Have these anticipations been fulfilled? We regret to notice the undignified epithets "fanatics" and "temperance screamers" in the context. We are sure that no prohibitionist would throw similarly offensive names at one who has grown gray in the nation's service.

The present writer holds extreme views—views akin to those of the great investigator Metchnikoff, who said that if he could have his way every drop of

wine, beer, and spirits in France would go into the sewer. Towards President White, however, he cherishes that feeling of deep gratitude which all Americans share because of his services in behalf of clean politics, international peace, and the higher education. Dr. White in his great work at Cornell has been a leader in many directions. One more piece of pioneering we would gladly see him undertake: viz., the establishment of a lectureship in alcoholology. The famous surgeon König of Berlin in his "Lehrbuch der Allgemeinen Chirurgie," speaks of alcoholism as the most widely spread of all diseases. Yet extraordinary as it may seem, there is not an university chair in the world devoted to its study. In Europe steps are being taken to remedy this lack, Dr. Robert Koppe of Moscow being especially earnest in the agitation. In the last eight years a profound anti-alcohol movement has taken place in European scientific circles. Thanks to the fifteen cent magazine which is doing work our fifteen million dollared universities ought long since to have done, the American public is beginning to hear something of it.

At this juncture there is a clear opportunity for Cornell to redeem the reputation of American schools and to make history for itself. Dr. White describes the visiting professors—Froude, Freeman and others—whose lectures constituted a novel feature in the early life of his university. There are other professors quite as prominent who might be induced to give the American people a straight lead on the alcohol question from a

Cornell class-room, the following, to name but a few:

The great anatomist, Prof. Weichselbaum of Vienna, President of the Austrian Anti-Alcohol Society.

Prof. Max von Gruber, successor to the renowned Prof. Pettenkofer in the chair of hygiene, in the University of Munich.

His associate in the same university, the psychiatrist, Prof. Kraepelin.

Prof. Rubner, who holds the chair of hygiene in the University of Berlin.

Prof. Masaryk of the University of Prague.

M. le Dr. Legrain, editor of "Les Annales Anti-alcooliques."

Prof. Dr. T. Laitinen, Helsingfors, Finland.

Prof. Dr. August von Froriep, Director of the Anatomical Institute in the University of Tübingen.

The physiological chemist, Prof. Dr. von Bunge, of Basel.

The statistician Prof. Westergaard of the University of Copenhagen.

Prof. Sims Woodhead of Cambridge University.

Prof. Dr. Forel, late of the University of Zürich.

Dr. med. Wlassak of Vienna and Rome.

Prof. Dr. Aschaffenburg.

Prof. Kassowitz of the University of Vienna.

Dr. Roubinovitch of the Salpêtrière.

Prof. Vandervelde of the Belgian Social Democracy.

Prof. Hercod of the International Anti-alcohol Bureau, Lausanne.

### CHAPTER III.

#### The Gothenburg System Invades a Gothenburg Park.

"'Tis enough to make half  
Yonder zodiac laugh  
When rulers begin to allude  
To their lack of ambition  
And strong opposition  
To all but the general good."

Thomas Hardy, "The Dynasts."

Three thousand people in the big circus amphitheatre of Gothenburg! Three thousand angry citizens mostly men of the intelligent middle and wage-working classes crowding the largest hall of the city and hundreds more unable to get admission! What is it all about?

They wanted to take the people's park from them and hand it over to the Gothenburg System. The good city fathers lamented that the tender feet of little children should be cut on the glass bottle bits which "irresponsible drinkers" now and then brought into the park from the city and determined to arrange for "orderly drinking." They regretted the unhealthy conditions which prevailed in their ill-ventilated city drink-shops and sought to facilitate drinking in God's own out-of-doors. They declared that if a drink-shop were not attached to the people's pleasure ground, tourists,—American, English and above all German,

would pass by Gothenburg on their northern excursions. Of course they had no thought of the money the enterprise would produce. They never have! Their whole interest was in the people's welfare.

But the people were thinking, too. A week before this meeting the socialists had foregathered, packing the Winter Pavilion. Their grievance was of a double nature. They were there to protest against the action of their own leaders in supporting the proposal of the city government and so betraying the party on whose programme work for temperance has a distinct place. More than one speaker suggested suspension as a just penalty for this unfaithfulness. From five o'clock until nine the discussion lasted. Some twenty speakers were heard. Again and again the fact was emphasized that industrial emancipation and emancipation from drink were causes indissolubly linked. "It is pure nonsense," said Thorsson, "to work for the uplifting of the common people if at the same time we neglect the fight against alcohol." And the resolutions adopted asserted that any favors to the alcohol capital would drive from the socialist-labor movement great masses of work-people and temperance folk who otherwise would stand very near to it.

This socialist meeting, however, was a mere prolog to the great citizens' gathering of Sunday evening. Enthusiasm was at a white heat. "Engelbrechts-Marsch," the song of the national hero who whipped the Danes out of Sweden in the old days was sung no less defiantly because the enemy was the liquor dealer

and not the foreigner. The address of the chief speaker, a young clergyman of the state church and one of the cleverest of the newer men in Sweden was a masterpiece of militant attack and sarcastic unveiling of hypocrisy. "They are anxious about the children's feet," he said. "We thank them for that but we could wish that their thoughtfulness went further. If they had considered the children's physical well-being and moral wants they would never have proposed a gilded saloon in this our 'thousand childrens' park.' I appeal especially for the children of the poor. When summer comes the well-to-do take their children into the country. The others must stay at home. But at least they have the Slottskogen park. The mother can send the little ones there with their elder sister and a lunch basket. Cannot these be free anywhere from the sight of the drink-shop? What an example for their plastic little minds. Up there sit the fine ladies and gentlemen. Hear how they talk and see how they drink! How brilliant they are with their fine clothes and with the automobiles waiting for them when they are ready to move away! Thus it appears to the childish fancy. 'Wait till I grow up,' it says. 'Then it will be my turn.'"

So the protests were reiterated amid thunders of applause. The meeting would have been a surprise to any American friend of the Gothenburg System. The proposed drinking place was to be put in the System's charge. All those putative safeguards of which we hear so much were to be in operation. No drink

was to be sold without food and none was to be sold to intoxicated persons. There was to be no pushing of the sale or among the buyers. Everything was to be orderly and decent. But the good folk of Gothenburg know their Pappenheimer. They have grown up under the System and have not made their observations at a distance of three thousand miles. They have learned the difference between phrase and actuality.

The traveling gentlemen who stop off at Gothenburg on their way between the Fjords and the Russian capital to examine "the System" get their information from prejudiced sources. The cultivated, rich Swedes to whom they bear letters of introduction favor it with all their heart. It pays their taxes, provides charity money for the institutions they direct and leaves them their wines undisturbed. Furthermore it gratifies their national feeling to have a national institution examined and praised by tourists. But the thousands gathered in the Gothenburg circus were middle class and working folk. They know the disaster these regulated drink-shops bring to their own strata and are not satisfied that poor throats should pay the city taxes instead of rich pockets.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Dr. Scharffenberg calls attention to the altered attitude of the Norwegian well-to-do towards spirit drinking from the earlier days when such of their representatives as Schweigaard, Fr. Stang, and Falsen were wont to speak in flaming words against the habit. "What is the reason for this undoubted change of front? The fanaticism of the temperance party, so repellant to the educated is, of course, the



No, the Gothenburg System does not settle the drink problem. Its agents violate the state's laws and they violate the System's regulations. Men get drunk, families are neglected, the insane asylums recruit their delirious alcoholists, the temperance party must organize its committees to watch for breaches of law, and when the System's friends get especially bold and try to push their institution into the parks the citizens have to rise and agitate in self-defense just as they must in drink-cursed St. Louis.<sup>(2)</sup> Those who commend the Gothenburg System usually contend that parks, good dwellings and the like will settle the drink difficulty. In Gothenburg they have both model drink-shops and parks—the former contaminating the latter—and the drink nuisance is as much in evidence as elsewhere.

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ready reply. But this is only a mask. In my judgment the true cause of the change is to be found in the indirect pecuniary interest which this class has in the Samlag's continued existence. The quota the Samlag pays of communal taxes and of public charities relieves to an undoubted extent the purse of the bourgeoisie. This it is which makes its judgment of drink so indulgent. There is no doubt that the greatest part of the Samlag's income is from the under classes."

Dr. J. Scharffenberg, "Afholds Politiske Spöragsmaal." Part 2, p. 60.

(2) Where, when city regulations forbade the sale of intoxicants "within 500 feet of the limits of Forest Park" the brewers' puppets in the city council decided that the sale of beer was not forbidden "in" the Park by the ordinance in question.

But will the authorities heed the expressed wishes of the people? Perhaps, and perhaps not. If not they are but bringing fuel to their own burning. On Ascension day the usual temperance demonstration took the shape of an additional protest against the park saloon. It was interesting to see six thousand people on the drill grounds with their banners, their bands and their choruses. It was interesting to see students, socialists, White Ribboners, Good Templars and a huge interested public uniting in the demonstration. Most interesting of all was it to hear a clean-cut prohibition address in the very home of the System. The new suffrage law will sooner or later change the character of the upper house of the Riksdag. This dam being broken the waters will race away in a manner to astonish old conservatives. Sure as the coming of the seasons will be the advance of the temperance reform. To the System's winter will succeed the spring of local option and then the full-blown summer of national prohibition.

## CHAPTER IV.

### On "Pushing the Sale."

The anti-alcohol agitation has in late years brought to light an enormous mass of cogent fact thanks to the brilliant group of investigators who in all lands have been studying the subject. From the other side we get little but phrases—"the poor man's club" "the food value of alcohol," "the sinlessness per se of wine drinking." One of the most popular of these phrases has to do with the Gothenburg System. It expresses approval of that arrangement on the ground that the limit of profit being fixed at five per cent, the managers are not tempted "to push the trade." Many "class conscious" representatives of our American culture treat this as final. We question, however, the soundness of their contention. <sup>(1)</sup>

To whom is the "pushing of the trade" with us in America chiefly due? Who cover the blanket sheets of the daily press with advertisements? Who blazon the merits of particular brands of beer on the billboards

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(1) One keen observer alleges that the communal avarice to which the Gothenburg System ministers is more devastating morally than the private avarice of the free sale system.

Ulrich—"Göteborgssystemet och dess användning i Stockholm och Göteborg," p. 30.

and barn doors along the great trunk lines? Who send out the army of commercial travelers to drum up trade in every corner of the land? Who is it that constantly watches for corner locations in the large cities on which to place his agents? Is it the retailer that does these things? Not at all. Most of this "pushing" is done by brewers, distillers and their immediate representatives.

The retailer himself—what "pushing" does he do? Does he stand at the door and "push" in passers by? No. Does he urge drinkers at his bar to drink, and drink, and drink again? Not commonly. Does he have agents about his neighborhood pressing people to purchase his wares? No. How does he "push the trade." Chiefly, if at all, by breaking restrictions placed on his business as to Sunday-selling, closing at fixed hours and selling to minors. For the remedying of this evil only a little decent energy on the part of the police and of the executive is necessary.

The Gothenburg System concerns itself only with the sale of drink. The entire manufacture is in the hands of private parties. The introduction of this system into the United States would not therefore affect the great alcohol capital in Milwaukee, Peoria and St. Louis which is chiefly responsible for the rise in our statistics of alcohol consumption.

There is, however, one fact to which the friends of the system point with apparently justifiable satisfaction. This is the large number of refusals to sell drink to persons in an advanced or advancing stage of

intoxication. Yet even here a little analysis dissipates the alleged advantage.

In the capital city of Norway there were last year 19,646 such refusals—certainly an imposing figure. A footnote in the report, however, explains that 12,931 of these were persons already intoxicated, the remaining 6,627 being repulsed through fear of intoxication. In other words of every three persons asking for drink and refused, two had already obtained enough to be drunk.<sup>(1)</sup> These, therefore, can hardly be considered trophies of the Samlag's self-denying ordinance. There remain 6,627 refusals or twenty each day. This divided among the thirty retail drink-shops of the city would give two-thirds of a man refused drink daily in each. The money value of the drink refused to these twenty men would not probably bulk altogether larger than \$5 a day, only one-half of which would be profit. The voluntary loss of \$2.50 a day by thirty drinkshops is hardly enough to prove the superior morality of this particular excise system.

But there are other considerations which further prove the futility of any theory based on these statistics of refusal to sell. One who follows present day investigations of the pathological workings of alcohol

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(1) Someone may object that these intoxicated persons may have got their drink at one of the twenty-nine Christiania private sellers outside of the Samlag. This may be, but as the Samlag sells in bottle quantities sufficient to intoxicate completely, it is equally probable that their intoxication was due to the Samlag itself.

soon discovers that occasional intoxication in its extreme form is considered by physiologists less dangerous than the cumulative effect of constant moderate drinking. Drinkers are often seriously intoxicated in the original sense of the word when there is no suggestion either of violence, somnolence, or uneven gait. These continue to drink at the Samlag's bar. One has only to step into a shop of an evening to realize the extent of this type of intoxication. In Morley's "Life of Gladstone" is a passage describing a visit the English statesman made to the great church historian Doellinger in Munich. He wrote that after supper beer was freely drunk by the group of scholars who had been invited to meet him. He soon noticed that all became exceedingly voluble and that no one in talking answered the others. They had passed into a pathological state. Now this state of intoxication is normal in Samlag society. The writer has often noticed the clatter and babel of alcoholized talk and has compared it to the noise of twenty sewing machines in a Yiddish sweat-shop. But this condition and really serious condition of intoxication does not at all disconcert the barmaids in a Company shop.

In the judgment of the writer whatever successes restrictive legislation in Scandinavia has had are not due to any monopolising features peculiar to that legislation. Rather are they due to the limitation of drinking places. When our American cities have reduced the number of their drink-shops to the average prevailing in Norway we shall see correspondingly good

results. Whether these are managed by "pushing" folk from Waterford and Tipperary or five per cent Back Bay philanthropists will be a matter of comparative indifference. Prohibition of private distilling, prohibition in rural districts, prohibition by local option in one-half the cities formerly provided with Company shops, has in Norway done much. National prohibition of the manufacture and sale will complete the upward trend.

One other fact sheds a flood of light on the inner workings of the Gothenburg System and the intentions of its directors. In looking over the table of sales given in the last report of the Samlag one notices that several of the smaller cities of Norway sell amounts of spirits greatly in excess of the sales in Christiania. Thus:

Christiania (population 230,000) 379,799 liters.  
Trondhjem (population 35,000) 503,931 liters. Bergen  
(population 60,000) 511,185 liters.

Why is this? Why does Trondhjem with hardly more than one-seventh of Christiania's population drink one-half again as much alcohol?

The explanation lies here. Bergen and Trondhjem are on the west coast of Norway where the prohibition movement has been much more widespread than in the country around the capital city. Throughout the country and small towns all drink shops have been closed and the benevolent Samlag makes by far its major profits in breaking the intention if not the letter of the law by selling in prohibition areas. I will not

say that they "push the trade" there but they certainly make no effort to limit it and exercise absolutely no control over it. It is a startling fact that nine-tenths of the business carried on in the Samlag shop at Egersund, for example, is that of flooding by rail and steamship districts where the people have voted out the poison seller.<sup>(2)</sup> The results of the Trondhjem Samlag's activities are pictured in the following clipping from the "Namsdal Folkeblad:"

"A meeting of 700 men and women gathered at Gjaelslingerne passed unanimously a resolution that the authorities see to it that no intoxicating liquors be sent to the fishing village of Gjaelslingerne during the fishing season.

"This resolution was sent in accordance with the decision of the meeting to the Namsdalen and the Bergen steamship companies, to the Trondhjem Samlag for selling spirits, and to the national government."

Pastor Mollerup, the village pastor, in commenting on the above, remarks:

"It is miserable that honest people can't have

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(2) Of the traffic of this particular Samlag Dr. Hansen writes in "Darlenes Tidende," (17 Oct. 06.)

"Drunkenness and riot follow the Egersund brandy business. Infinite misery is spread by it over the country districts. If you doubt it go to the railway station and see the number of packages sent out daily from this Samlag. And then notice the constant reports of fightings and disorders when the Egersund brandy reaches the distant farmhouses. Two dreadful examples have just come to us."



peace, but that drink and drunkenness should have the privilege of forcing themselves in everywhere.

"Let us see now which is to triumph in our village, drink or decency!

"There are many who stand with hands in pockets and look with indifference on the misery in and around our fisher folks' homes.

"When will the hands come out of the breeches pockets to take up in all earnestness the fight against drink?"

This village has no drink-shop, not even of the approved Gothenburg System type. But this fact does not save its people from being drenched with spirits from the one in Trondhjem.

This, then, is the conclusion of the whole matter. Scandinavian monopolisation touches only the retail trade while in America it is the great manufacturing capital which does practically all the "pushing." Such rigid state control as would confine the action of this manufacturing capital to areas legally its own would seem to offer possible advantages pending the introduction of a general prohibitory régime. But such measures would tend to make prohibition by assisting in its local enforcement too brilliantly successful to please the American advocates of the Gothenburg System. For it does not need much shrewd guessing to conclude that their chief interest in the System is to thrust it as a stick between the spokes of the prohibition wheel. It is rarely brought out for discussion except during the height of some prohibition wave.

The Swedish people are a remarkable people. By nearly all the tests of civilization they stand at the top. Their death-rate is at the lowest figure; their statistics of literacy at the highest. Anthropological measurements indicate that racially they are the standard people. They have the culture of the German, the taste of the French, the religious and moral interests of the English. In all directions where intelligence is applied to handwork they stand unequalled. In charm, politeness, hospitality their attractiveness is all their own. One black mark alone runs across this fair surface, the smudge of Swedish alcoholism. The Gothenburg System has not availed to remove it. For this they need a more mordant preparation—the acid of national prohibition.

## CHAPTER V.

### Expert Opinion on the Gothenburg System.

"For a time and a country with such a distinct temperance tendency as Sweden's the Gothenburg System is played out. And for other countries to attempt to erect a system of a like pattern, dropping its money-making features, is likewise impossible. For since we are not worse than other people nor more addicted to mammon worship, the same temptation to coin money would soon arise elsewhere."—Oscar Petersson, "Sv. Rusdryckslagstiftningen," p. 66.

Dr. H. S. Williams has given us in two numbers of "McClure's" a good birdseye view of the injury which alcohol is doing in the human body and in human society. In his third paper he passes to the remedy and reaches what is indeed a lame and impotent conclusion. Our old friend "the System" bobs up again. It is in his judgment (his judgment leans in this instance on the broken reed of Harvard professorsdom<sup>(1)</sup>) the "scientific" solution of the difficulty.

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(1) Dr. Williams' authority is the Committee of Fifty, or rather three professors on that committee.

In 1865 appeared the first of Lancereaux' studies on alcoholism which have continued down to 1896. Baer's great work, "Alkoholismus," appeared in 1878; Bunge's "Die Alkoholfrage" in 1887; Demme's "Einfluss des Alkohols auf den kindlichen Organismus," 1895. The investigations of Schmiedeberg, of Frey, of Destree were published in 1893-97. In 1895 came A. Smith's studies on reaction time, "Ueber die Beeinflussung einfacher psychischer Vorgänge durch chro-

What does he mean by "scientific?" It is not easy to say. The "scientific" method of treating other poisons is surely quite different. No doctor out of Asia would recommend fighting the use of opium by opening shops for its free sale, ten hours in the day, six days in the week, to anyone who could slap an obolus on the counter. The "scientific" method of

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nische Alkoholvergiftung"; also Legrain's "L'Alcoolisme." The last half of the nineties was made noteworthy by Kraepelin's famous studies, "Neuere Untersuchungen ueber die psychischen Wirkungen des Alkohols" and the rest. In 1897 Deléarde of the Pasteur Institute published his "Contribution à l'Etude de l'Alcoolisme Experimental et de son Influence sur l'Immunité." In 1898 appeared Grotjahn's "Der Alkoholismus," Aschaffenburg's "Praktische Arbeit unter Alkoholwirkung" and Strumpell's "Ueber die Alkoholfrage vom ärztlichen Standpunkt aus." Nicloux' valuable studies were published in 1899-1900. Laitinen in 1900 issued the first of his epoch-making works "Ueber den Einfluss des Alkohols auf die Empfindlichkeit des tierischen Körpers für Infektionsstoffe." In 1901 came the masterly work of Rosenfeld, "Der Einfluss des Alkohols auf den Organismus." The net impression of these and numerous other investigations is summed up in the words of Professor Max von Gruber of the University of Munich:—"One cannot say anything too bad about alcohol."

In 1904 the American Committee with its numerous college professors and presidents, Drs. Atwater, Shedd, Hyde, Low, Peabody, Bowditch, Eliot, Brooks, Farnam, summarised the results of their investigation. They had taken every precaution, had arranged that "men of all religious faiths" should be represented on their body, and had hired a half dozen investigators to do the work for them. The pub-

fighting diphtheria would not be to allow its manufacture in all the horse-stables of the city and its sale on every tenth street corner. The "scientific" method would be to stamp it out, put on it every prohibition possible without regard to people's inconvenience or prejudices or traditions. And this surely ought to be the "scientific" method of handling what Dr. Williams calls "the most virulent of poisons," alcohol, the

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lishers' announcement on the cover of the report alleged that "America's ablest thinkers" were here represented.

What was this committee's verdict as to alcohol? Well, they concluded that alcohol is a food, but that sugar (sufficiently concentrated) is a poison. "The Liquor Problem." Edited by Prof. F. G. Peabody (p. 32). Nothing more startling in the world of knowledge has come to daylight since the French physiologist, Paul Bert, after painful researches affirmed that oxygen is a poison for the human system. One is reminded of the discovery by a great scientist in one of Octave Mirbeau's novels that poverty is a neurosis! But this is not all. They laid before the American public, and it still circulates (1910) as the ripe thought of our American universities, a sentence which is certain to go down in history. "The term poison belongs with equal propriety to coffee, pepper, ginger and common salt" (as to alcohol). "The Liquor Problem," p. 23.

This was the sum of their wisdom on the physiological action of alcohol. The results of European research gave them no concern.

It was to be expected that these professors should approve of the Gothenburg System. But why should Dr. Williams quote as authoritative, persons who are, to use Disraeli's phrase, "in such a pitiable arrears of intelligence" on the alcohol question?

excrement of the yeast plant. Pro-alcohol opinion even of German immigrants in Cincinnati and St. Louis should be considered just as little as the feelings of Bombay Hindus who riot because of hygienic measures against the bubonic plague. For it is just as superstitious and even more dangerous to society.

But perhaps he means "scientific" in the sense of approved by those who have especially studied alcoholism. This it is not. The best general expression of scientific opinion on all phases of the alcohol problem is probably to be found in the reports and papers of the various International Anti-Alcohol Congresses.

The eleventh of these Congresses met in Stockholm in order that its members might have a chance of judging at first hand the value of this widely advertised and highly praised method of retailing alcoholic poisons. Every opportunity was given for inspection, both advocates and enemies being allowed a hearing. The result is summed up in the Report of the Congress which has just appeared from the press.

Of the speakers Messrs. Ljungren, Herod, Bergmann, Forel, Haehnel, Ulrich, Helenius, von Koch, Malins, and Fröken Dickson spoke in strong condemnation, and Scharffenberg, Wallis, and Petersson were scarcely less severe. Of those favoring it Rubenson is a director of the Stockholm Bolag and Milliet is connected with the Swiss spirits monopoly. Dr. Eggers, editor of "Gasthaus-Reform" the German Rowntree, advocated it only in its unrealized improved

form. As it now is in Sweden he subjected it to severe criticism.

August Ljungren said: "The modern alcohol investigation recognizes no so-called 'moderate' use of narcotic poisons as harmless either for the individual or for the race. Every system that overlooks this fact is doomed to failure."

G. Von Koch, the Swedish sociologist: "I held for many years that the Gothenburg System was based on a sound principle but the more I have studied the question the more decidedly have I come to the conclusion that in practise it works out altogether badly."

Dr. Bergmann: "In my judgment the whole system is obsolete and must give way to a purely prohibitive system. The only possibility of its further usefulness would lie in some amendment which would provide that all income go to purely anti-alcohol work. e. g. temperance-education, cure of the alcohol-sick, etc."

Dr. Helenius of Finland: "Times are wholly changed since the System came into operation forty years ago. Almost every school child here in the North now knows that alcohol is a poison. Professor Laitinen has proved to us in the present congress that even minute doses of alcohol corresponding to a glass of beer a day poison the organism. But the Gothenburg System sells ordinarily and to individuals amounts that exceed even the so-called maximal amount of drink which the German advocates of moderation place as an hygienic limit. So if we look at

the thing wholly without prejudice we must conclude that the Gothenburg System, as every other system of license, is an organized arrangement not only for forwarding vice but of actually murdering men.

"Where is the "keen vision" in those who cannot see this or the "warm heart" in those who defend a system whose managers advocate restoring the sale of drink in certain localities because the mere supplying of meals does not pay? This international congress should waste no more time in thrashing out this old straw. We can and should use our sessions for something more profitable.

"The talk is constantly of supplanting private profit by disinterested capital. The advocates of this idea forget that the retailer is a small person alongside of the great manufacturer. The great weight of the alcohol capital lies in the brewery and distillery. And the brewer and distiller will rest content as long as they have an outlet for the sale of their products in the Gothenburg System.

"The Stockholm Anti-Alcohol Congress has accomplished much. It could have no more satisfactory ending than to guillotine the Gothenburg System in so far as the System is proposed as a substitute for prohibition."

Prof. Dr. Forel: "Our hearty thanks to our Swedish friends for their candor. That the Gothenburg System in Sweden is bad we have all seen and it is confessed on all sides. How can alcohol be fought



as long as the community or stock companies are interested in its sale?

"The question is can there be a good Gothenburg System, one in which no one has money interest, which will pave the way for prohibition?

"Dr. Eggers thinks so. He believes that we can fight the alcohol interest with such an one. He confesses that as it exists in Sweden it is bad. Now the responsibility is on him to propose a practical system which will not do harm and which will lead to prohibition.

"As it is we see that in Sweden interested parties reduce all rules to a dead letter and compromise the System all around. Personally I believe that the plan of Cauderlier (Brussels) of a progressive restrictive monopoly is preferable to the Gothenburg System. And yet after all I must say that the abstinence movement can only reach its goal by the use of the local veto."

F. Haehnel of Bremen: "The introduction of this system into other lands would constitute a great barrier to the healthy and speedy development of our cause. We have investigated it thoroughly. Our Swedish friends of opposing opinions have presented the pro and contra at length. We have had opportunity to see the System at work and we have concluded that any hopes based on its introduction into Germany are gone forever. The next questions are whether its introduction with improvements would contribute to the fight against alcoholism and secondly

whether our agitation ought to expend the effort and money for its introduction which might be used to better advantage. To both queries we answer, 'No.'

"If Dr. Eggers and his associates of the 'Gasthaus-Reform' had used in the enlightenment of our people the time, effort, and money expended on their Sisyphus work of improving the saloon, our organizations would have been far stronger than now and more developed. With every thousand new abstainers in the land, far more can be accomplished against drink than can be brought about by changing one hundred saloons into Gothenburg improved drink-shops. To introduce the System into lands which are now without it even though it should be freed from its glaring weaknesses, would be to act unpractically, to give brewery and distillery ground to pasture on. No opponent of alcohol to whatsoever party he belongs can take on himself the moral responsibility of tampering with this plan.

"If our deliberations today have led to showing clearly that in the future we should cease from experimenting with this arrangement concerning which we hear at home such diverse opinions, they will have been profitable. No flirtation with the System will avail. Only the enlightenment of the people will count against the alcohol capital. I beg our Germans especially to avoid splitting or checking our movement by seeking to introduce the Gothenburg System."

Thus far those who are best fitted to estimate the worth of the System. A few words more about Dr. Williams' article.

In the leading paper of Sweden, "Svenska Dagbladet" (June 22-'09) this article is placed with others in a review of ill-informed American judgments concerning Sweden and Swedish culture. Its unreliability as to fact is measured by a sample statement. "This enthusiast for the Gothenburg System tells us that it has reduced the number of distilleries from 23,000 to 132 greatly to the advantage of temperance. He does not seem to know first,—that the System has nothing whatever to do with the manufacturing regulations,—secondly, that this reduction is due wholly to the drastic law of 1852,—thirdly, that the 132 distilleries produce more brandy than the entire 23,000 home distilleries ever did."

The decrease in the number of drink-shops is susceptible to a similar analysis according to Mr. Petersson, one of the speakers at this Congress. The decrease from 1865 when the Swedish Bolags were introduced to 1895 was 1,052, a little more than one-half. But 724 of these were life licenses which fell in at the death of their owners. Only 328 closed saloons in thirty years can be credited to the Gothenburg System. Of the sixty-five saloons closed in the next ten years only thirty-six have been closed by the System. They have beaten this record in Indiana in three months!

Further it must be remembered that many holders of licenses presumably with the Bolag's permission split their license and run really two drink-shops, first and second class, on the one permit. Mr. Petersson

thinks it more than probable that the official diminution of drinking places has been outbalanced by an increase through such devices.

As to consumption. In 1860 the curve of Swedish brännvin consumption went down to four liter per capita, a point to which it has never descended since.<sup>(1)</sup> This was five years before the Gothenburg System was introduced into Sweden. Whatever variation there may have been from year to year in consumption of alcohol is probably due in both Sweden and Norway to the alternation of good and bad times. This is indicated by the curious fact that Denmark's curve, and here there is no Samlag, varies almost precisely as the curves of the lands with Samlags, though on an average higher rate of consumption. Mr. Petersson believes that it is very doubtful if any credit at all can be given to the System and bases this opinion on four factors, two positive and two negative:—

1. The undoubted effect which the tremendous temperance movement in Sweden since 1870 must have worked.

2. The similar results of the labor movement which has transformed in a large degree the wage-working class.

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(1) O. Petersson, "Svenska rusdryckslagstiftningen och Göteborgs-systemet," p. 52. This fact is conveniently disguised, for example, in Bertillon's "L'Alcoolisme et les moyens de le combattre," where the statistic is given for 1856-60 as 10.7 liters of 50 per cent spirits, which contrasts pleasantly with the lower consumption of 7.3 for 1902!

3. The persistent refusal of the System to respond to petitions for restrictions which labor-unions, temperance societies and communal authorities have sent in to them.

4. The development in the System of subletting of sale, with its consequent abuses.

In comparing the alcohol consumption of the three Scandinavian lands we find that since 1870 it has dropped in Denmark where sale is free: .8 liter per head for all forms of alcohol and 1.9 liters for brandy alone.

In Sweden the fall has been .15 and 1.3 liters respectively.

In Norway it has been .85 and 1 liter per head.

It is hard to see that this proves any particular advantage in the legislation of any of the three lands. Certainly it does not prove the superiority of the Gothenburg System, for Sweden which has this system alone, shows up not only worse than Norway with the System plus a defective prohibitory arrangement, but worse than Denmark with free sale, i. e. of course as far as decline in consumption in thirty-nine years is used as a test.

Dr. Williams prefers the System to prohibition, first, because prohibition would destroy an immense economic interest; secondly, because masses of people are so accustomed to alcohol that it could not be taken from them.

But how futile such reasonings. The alcohol industry is wealth-destroying, not wealth-producing.

To annihilate it would be but to put out a great conflagration. When the Reformation closed the English monasteries it took some of them, notably the great monastic complex at Reading, and worked them into road metal. If the same were done with the breweries of Milwaukee and St. Louis wealth would be conserved rather than destroyed. One might quote Herault de Sechelles' "Ruinons nous; nous soyons libres," if the facts would not turn the quotation into a jest. The "ruin" which would send two billions yearly now spent for poison into legitimate channels of trade would be a ruin beneficent beyond the best dreams of prosperity.

As to the second contention we can only say that measures must first be taken to protect the well from alcohol sickness. Of the already infected Prof. von Bunge says: "Numbers of men drink only a moderate glass but hang to that glass as desperately as the morphinist to his syringe." Such must be cured of their cravings as the morphinist of his peculiar sickness by removing the narcotic drug from their reach. "Old prisoners leave their cells unwillingly." Nevertheless the beer Bastille must down! Sooner or later the alcoholist Latudes will become accustomed to their new freedom.

But while the finical are questioning the feasibility of prohibition the broad masses of the people whose instincts are so often right are acting. The success of the radical method is being proved in an ever-widening area in America.

One recalls the philosopher in *Tristram Shandy* who answered a sceptic's disputings as to the reality of motion by rising on his legs and walking across the room.

## CHAPTER VI.

### A Bridge of Wood Over a River of Fire.

"If we liken it (drink) to a terrible monster, the Swedish system may be said to be the chain round its neck. This chain cannot prevent it entirely from doing damage but it can hamper its progress to some extent." "Morality rather than profit is the principle of the Gothenburg System."—Mr. S. Wieselgren, the System's historian.

Mere statistical and financial accounts of the Gothenburg System are not sufficient. They give little idea of the flood of misery which year in and year out flows from its hundreds of drink-shops. To right thinking people the weightiest of all questions is what effect does the sale of drink under the System have on the distress of families, on the struggles of mothers, on the miseries of the alcohol-sick, on the deprivation the children endure. Is the Gothenburg System an alleviating force in the unending tragedy of alcohol suffering?

"Not to any appreciable degree,"—is the only honest answer one can give who has lived in sight of it any length of time.

Not that statistics, either, when objectively used give a flattering picture of the System. Take Stockholm for example. The System has been in operation there for many years. Do we see constant improvement in the matter of drunkenness? We do not.



The police report for 1909 has just been published. The number of arrests for drunkenness went up to the huge total of 15,218. The increase has been pretty constant. Thus in 1902, 11,586; in 1903, 12,598; in 1904, 13,065; in 1905, 13,942; 1906, 12,291; 1908, 15,147. And the police in Stockholm are not at all severe in their administration. This represents only a portion of the total drunkenness of the city. One sees more reelers in Swedish cities generally not merely than in American prohibition cities but in drink dominated centers like Boston and Chicago. If you doubt it saunter along Postgaten, Gothenburg, the evening before the American sailings. You will realize then what the peculiar Swedish vice is and how little the patented Gothenburg arrangement has done to check it.

A champion of the System and general director in its management, Mr. Wieselgren says: "Experience shows that a considerable number of these companies seem to be without any conception of the System's true purpose and totally without shame in their violations of its spirit."<sup>(1)</sup> Nothing shows more clearly the justice of this unsparing judgment than the records which the police of both Stockholm and Gothenburg keep of the number of times individuals are arrested for drunkenness in a given year. If any practical attempt had been made to prevent drunkards from fall-

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(1) In his "Kunna utskänkningsbolagen tjena nykterheten." Quoted in Ulrich "Göteborgs systemet och dess användning i Stockholm och Göteborg, p. 19.

ing again and again such a statistic as the following would be impossible.

For 1905 in Stockholm there were:

1,207 arrested 2 times; 429 arrested 3 times; 203 arrested 4 times; 119 arrested 5 times; 62 arrested 6 times; 53 arrested 7 times; 32 arrested 8 times; 25 arrested 9 times; 13 arrested 10 times; 11 arrested 11 times; 9 arrested 12 times; 8 arrested 13 times; and so on up to one who had been arrested 30 times in a year for drunkenness.

In Gothenburg we get the same picture:

799 arrested 2 times; 283 arrested 3 times; 124 arrested 4 times; 78 arrested 5 times; 40 arrested 6 times; 25 arrested 7 times; 22 arrested 8 times; and 48 from 10 to 25 times. All the claimed safeguards against drunkenness are mere waste paper. And this is not the worst feature of the police report. Of the army of Stockholm drunkards in 1905, 1,065 were women. To insist that a system yielding such fruits is better than the Maine law is to make oneself a superlative illustration of "the will to believe."

There is on the Ponte Sisto in Rome a mortuary chapel on the walls of which bones are arranged in stars and crosses and arabesques. There are decorations of childrens skulls, ribs in circles, finger bones in patterns—all decently ordered.

But can such order change the face of death?

Just as little can regulation and restraints of a greater or less effectiveness gloss over the repulsiveness of an institution for selling intoxicants, that is

toxic, poisonous drinks. In all essential respects the drink-shop of Scandinavia is the same as elsewhere. It ruins and degrades and sickens and kills. It closes at 7 o'clock Saturday night as cemeteries do and is supposed at least like them to be quiet and well-ordered. But it still remains a charnel-house.

Let us pass to illustrations. This is taken from the leading paper of Gothenburg the "Handel och Sjöfarts Tidning."

"THE UNEMPLOYED, HUNGER, AND THE SALE  
OF DRINK.

"Those who passed this morning through Första Langgaten must have seen a painful sight. Just outside a drinkshop near Masthugg Torg there was gathered a group of ragged, wretched men. They were there to purchase a supply of brandy with which to celebrate properly the present Easter holidays. It will not do to say that they were people who had sufficient to make such expenditures. On the contrary they bore the marks of extreme poverty and misery. The crowd was so great that it was necessary to send for the police to keep order and to force them into line.

"At a time when the press generally is urging all charitably disposed to show sympathy with those out of work and when a special organization is being formed to deal with the present distress it seems highly regrettable that men should use for drink their hard earnings and in some cases what they have begged. It is no wonder that the generous public gets hard-hearted towards poverty when they see a long

line of tattered fellows waiting for the drink shop to open!

"And this at a time when there is so much suffering and lack of employment!

"The drinkshops should be closed!

"Signed, A Citizen.—April 8, '08."

The writer is living far up in the Gudbrandsdal. Complaints are there being made of the great activity the Samlag in Lillehammer has displayed in the holidays just past in flooding the valley with drink. One writes from Tretten of "the pyramid of brandy bottles which this particular shop has sent into the villages spreading everywhere trouble and sorrow in the homes and destroying Christmas joy." He suggests that there be a special car of detention on the trains to handle the holiday victims of this Samlag. "It is highly inhuman," he adds, "to leave these intoxicated men by themselves in the railway stations during the bitter winter nights."

Does that not read differently from Rowntree and Sherwell's idyll?

The following is from the recently published remains of the well-known Pastor Mortensen of Christiania:

"'How dreadful,' I heard some one at my side call out the other day as I passed through one of Christiania's main streets. The remark brought me suddenly to myself as I was walking rapidly, immersed in thought. I turned about to see what the occasion of the outcry might be.

"The sight filled me with horror and the deepest compassion. The whole street was filled with men. In the middle of a dense crowd I detected two policemen, who were dragging to the station an intoxicated woman. Drunken, nay she was mad with drink, the froth stood on her mouth while she shouted and screamed the vilest songs and the wildest oaths. How did she look? Her whole appearance bore the stamp of a drunkard at the end of her course although she was clearly not over forty years of age. Her face was swollen with drink, her eyes shot with blood, her hair dangling loose in the wind. But her clothing! It was torn and hanging in shreds and every struggle with the police made it worse. She had been taken out of one of the city's drinkholes and now was being dragged stationward through the streets."

Prof. Forel has said somewhere that future generations will look on our drink customs with the same horror with which we regard the Inquisition. The repulsive scenes one meets with under the regulated drink régime in Scandinavia will constitute no exception.

Here is how the System set the joy-bells in the North a ringing at Easter-tide, 1909.

"Verdandisten" reports: "In many places the evening before Easter long rows could be seen waiting at the doors of the brandy-shops for a chance to purchase. The consequences appeared later.

"Two persons at the railway station at Lindome were seriously stabbed by a drunken man Easter Sunday.

"K. E. Anderson was killed by his intoxicated brother Easter even when visiting the parental home at Lyckeby.

"E. J. Karlsson a Hardemo shoemaker was arrested for having stabbed a neighbor Easter evening.

"J. W. Sunden of Borås was stabbed by a neighbor. Both were drunk.

"A laborer from Gothenburg got drunk Easter Sunday and was drowned at Surte.

"A seventeen year old boy, Gustaf Löfvendal, on Good Friday stabbed a drinking companion named Boman."

"An iron worker's family in Avesta," remarks the same paper, "has been in a dreadful state. The mother spent most of her time in the drink-shop in company with a farm-laborer she had taken up with. Five children were left without care and the father finding things unendurable disappeared.

"Finally the people of the town could stand it no longer and determined upon a demonstration. A great company of citizens, men and women, old and young, collected around the house where the children had been left with a drunken butcher while the mother was in the drinkshop. The butcher was summoned out but thought it best to run, and run he did, head over heels, pursued by the crowd. He was at last taken into custody by the police.

"The people now hurried to the drink-shop, pulled out the farm laborer and gave him a thorough beating.

The woman was treated to a severe lecture and sent home.

"After this resolute action the people of Avesta went each and every one about his own business with a light heart."

Query.—How did the Gothenburg System "solve the drink problem" in this case?

In many places one sees posters pasted opposite an Utskänkning or Company saloon, urging men to keep away from the place. These have been put up by friends of the alcohol-sick to restrain them from further infection. But how futile! It is like appealing to the public to keep away from a villainous drain which year in and year out spreads typhoid. Suppression of the nuisance and not "suasion" of the sick is the thing required.

Another significant indication of the System's failure to root out alcoholism is to be found in the following notice which one reads in every third class railway coupé in Norway:

"Warning! In accordance with section seven of the law of July 24, 1894, drunkenness on the train is a punishable offense. Travelers are urged to report any occurrences of this sort immediately to the conductor."

I do not recall whether similar signs are posted in Swedish railways. They are not needed to remind one of the omnipresent vice. The writer has made the long twenty hours' ride from Stockholm to Jämtland many times. One of the invariable incidents of the trip has

been the drunken rioting at the end of the train. Young roughs without collars, unshaven, with coat-collar turned up, nails in deep mourning, bearing all the stigmata of a degraded alcoholism the more striking because of the refinement and order everywhere noticeable among this the most highly civilized people in the world,—with whisky bottles sticking out of pockets, swearing, pushing, quarreling—what a frontispiece would they not make for some eminently proper professorial essay on the Gothenburg System.

Verner von Heidenstamm is one of the most popular novelists of present day Sweden. He is by no means a temperance agitator. Yet it is clear that he is not satisfied with the civilizing tendencies of the System. In a paper before me I notice the report of an address he delivered Midsummer Day at Wadstena to a large gathering of Swedish young people who were working for tree planting and other public interests.

"Why is it," said this shrewd and accomplished man of the world, "that it is difficult to plant alleés of shade trees? It is because drunken youths on Saturday and Sunday nights insist as they go homeward on breaking down the young trees. (The howling, swearing Saturday night drunkard is a characteristic feature of Swedish life as every one who has passed a few months in the country well knows). In Switzerland one can journey for miles under rows of fruit-trees and even in vast swarming Paris flower masses and grass mats can be left out safely without fear of



ruffianism. But when our countryman has taken his drink the barbarian in him rises to the surface and he immediately feels impelled to injure or destroy. I know nothing under the sun more stupid than a drunken Swede. Drink disorders him in a specially noxious way. Here is one reason more why we should take off our hats"—(to the Gothenburg System with its restraining and moralizing influence? Not a bit of it!) "to the flags of the temperance organizations on which are inscribed in letters of gold the future's programme."

One could wish that a Gothenburg cinematograph showing the System in action could be sent about New York drawing rooms and the lecture-rooms of American universities where it is believed in and praised. It would be a vivid panorama of fighting, reeling, seedy, depraved victims of alcohol. One finds material at every turn. My eye lights on this from "Svenska Dagbladet" (June 4, '09):

"A tailor from Multro named Hilbom visited together with his wife Sollefteå, where they purchased brandy. On reaching home they began a wild carousal. Late in the night he lay down on the floor and went to sleep. In the morning he was found dead. The home, remarked the local paper, exhibited a dreadful sight. The wife, the hired man, and the housekeeper lay in their respective beds still drunk after the night's orgies. In the open air just outside the house a sister of Hilbom lay in a drunken stupor close to an apprentice also unconscious."

When the Hugenots sent the Grand Monarque a pitiable appeal for relief, recounting their dreadful distresses, he wrote at the bottom merely "Néant." ("It is nothing.") The professors and theorists will perhaps say the same here. "Such things occur everywhere," they will object, shrugging the shoulder just perceptibly and adjusting their glasses. But it is for the future to see to it that they do not occur everywhere, that alcoholism become as rare as leprosy is or as small-pox bids fair to be. We have beaten the lepra bacillus. We shall yet down the yeast plant. But we can only do it by stopping its manufacture, by leveling to the ground the beer brewery "beside which," as Dr. Moebius the Leipzig psychiatrist solemnly said after a profound study of alcohol and its workings, "the man who has murdered a multitude is an innocent orphan boy."<sup>(1)</sup>

It is generally known that the Company System is more stringent in its regulations and in its workings in Norway than in Sweden. If it had produced social results of an advanced type anywhere we should expect

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(1) "Ein Massenmörder ist ein Waisenknabe gegen eine Bierbrauerei." So we have Ghingis-Khan, Alva, Tilly, Abdul Hamid and Adolphus Busch. Thirty-five thousand pair of eyes were handed Agha Mohammed Khan on platters after the sack of Kerman. The fifty thousand dollar bills presented to the Germanic Museum by Harvard's beer Maecenas represented doubtless as many diseased livers. Is it not time that the Puritan motto "Christo et Ecclesiae" give place to the pagan "Non olet" of the Emperor Vespasian?

to see them in the capital city of Norway where Norwegian culture and Norwegian intelligence touch their highest point. But what is the case? Christiania is a city of 230,000 inhabitants. In the Norwegian review "Kringsjaa" (July, 1908) Dr. Paul Winge discusses its criminality. He says that on a low estimate 4,000 men and 2,000 women support themselves as criminals. Including children and other dependents there are 10,000 persons in Christiania belonging to the criminal strata of society, or nearly 5 per cent of the whole population. And by this he means not occasional criminals like the intoxicated but predatory criminals.

There is of course no prohibitory community with such a record, not even Portland or Bangor, which "New England's greatest newspaper" has so often adduced as examples of the terrible results of prohibition. Alcohol from the Company store works in precisely the same way as alcohol from the American corner saloon. It produces a parasitical criminal class.<sup>(2)</sup>

But what are its effects on the better situated? Are they restraining or enlightening? Just take a look at the porcine faces of the punch drinkers gathered about the little round, marble-topped tables of the

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(2) A Christiania paper describes what are called "nose-drinkers" as far as I know a specialty of that city. These pour out their brandy into the hollow of the hand and snuff it into the nose in quick drafts. Intoxication in this way is soon attained.

Café du Nord, in Stockholm.<sup>(3)</sup> How gross the type! Swedish charm has at last evanesced! The evolution of the Swedish student youth—courteous and delightful as ephebi of classic Athens—into such monstrosities,

“Dewlapped like bulls  
Whose throats have hanging to them  
Wallets of flesh”

is a crime against culture peculiar to Swedish drink-selling. No drinkers on earth, under whatsoever system degenerated, are more repulsively goitred. One recalls the Iceland bird, which is so fat that with a wick in its throat it burns as a candle through half a winter's night. There would be no need of arc lamps if the punch drinkers of the Café du Nord were lighted and placed about Norrmalms Torg!

“Norske Intelligenser Sedler” gives a picture of recent Norwegian student excesses which indicates how backward public opinion is in certain circles of Christiania as well, after forty years of the System.

“Drunken students,” it remarks, “began the seventeenth of May (Norway's National Independence Day, the anniversary of the Eidsvold Convention) with howling and yelling in the streets. The police

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(3) To such cafés the system delegates the right of retailing intoxicants under conditions much the same as those prescribed for the regular drinking places.

were obliged to confiscate their banners. Some joined themselves to the brigade-band and marched to the palace, rioting all the way. Numbers were pulled into the Pipervik police station and fined."

Again on the 4th of June the same paper writes:

"The conduct of young students at St. Hans Haugen yesterday evening was so rowdyish and low as to be almost incredible. One would have thought them the scum of society rather than the scions of educated families. A great gang of these drunken students collected on the hill, where they yelled and rioted and annoyed the restaurant servants. Finally they were ejected. But they continued outside, hooting and howling, annoying the animals in the Zoological collection, throwing beer mugs into the bear-pits, etc. The attendants secured a policeman but he was immediately surrounded by the gang, who threw gravel and stones at him. Thirteen of them were finally arrested. Many of these represented the best families of the city. The police declared that they conducted themselves as hatefully as the worst hooligans they had ever had to deal with."

"Student excesses," one will say. "Young blood!" "Liable to happen anywhere."

Yes, anywhere where alcohol is sold. Against alcoholized vulgarity neither the Gothenburg System nor academic culture is a safe prophylactic. Rather we may say Samlag drink neutralises all the restraining and enlightening values of academic culture. The present case ought to have shown the Sys-

tem at its best. Wines, light-beer, cognac, student-punch, sold under theoretically satisfactory conditions to young men of high breeding and selected blood, trained in all the culture the cultivated Norwegian capital could give them—and the result? Negro miners, Italian sewer diggers, Kanuck lumber men,—the most unprivileged and untrained elements in our heterogeneous American society would if kept from alcohol show up better. But ply them with the drink which the Norwegian students procured from Gothenburg shops or their affiliated bars and they would soon sink to the same cultural level.

In striking contrast are the manners of Norwegian students who have been brought up not in the densely alcoholized atmosphere of Christiania but in the alcohol-free surroundings of a small Minnesota town.

In 1906 a glee club of Norwegian-American college boys, the St. Olaf Chorus, toured the mother country. Prof. Kildahl in recounting their triumphant progress said: "It awakened general surprise when it was known that our boys drank neither wine, beer, nor brandy. Other guests at the receptions usually drank strong liquors. If I had taken one-fourth of what my neighbors did I should have been under the table. It seems to be an understood thing in Norway that at every social function there shall be a great quantity of liquors on the table and the waiters see to it that the glasses are kept full."

## CHAPTER VII.

### Where the Poor Man's Clubbed.

"With the wife out washing, her rub, rub, rub,  
Beats time for the songs of the poor man's club.  
If you don't need clothes and can live without grub  
Why just go and join the poor man's club."

—Song of the Anti-Saloon movement.

Many years ago the Norwegian poet, Ibsen, in a speech at Trondhjem declared that for the regeneration of society we must look to two classes, — the women and the wage-workers. This might be called as far as the movement against alcohol is concerned a veritable prophecy.

It was the joint effort of women and working men which placed on the Finnish code the first national prohibition law in existence. In Sweden the working men have shown themselves of like mind. The National Socialist Congress of last year was notable from the fact that a prohibition declaration was forced through by the rank and file against the protest of the more fearful and perhaps less conscientious leaders. In Norway this year at Hamar only the threat of resignation which Jeppesen and other leaders made prevented the convention from committing the party to the same policy. The writer was interested in reading the devices borne by social-

ists in the first of May demonstration in Christiania. There were "Down with Altar and Throne," "War is Murder of Brothers," and "Away with Intoxicants." Not a suggestion of "The Poor Man Should have his Beer," or "Save Us Our Tidy, Well-regulated Cheerful Club, the Samlag Shop, Where There Is No Pushing, Where Nobody Makes Any Money Out of Us, Where Everything Is As Delightful As It Is Disinterested, Where Excess Is Never Seen, Where There Is An Atmosphere Of Correctitude Unequalled Out Of Boston."

No, the real wage-worker knows better about the System shops. My eye lighted recently on the description of one such in "Verdandisten"—the organ of the Swedish temperance socialists. Those who make it a point "to see the best that glimmers through the worst" are welcome to do with it what they can.

"In the country mother earth produces as in early times without regard to the hard competition which rules in our cities. The peasant harrows and sows and harvests not without labor and sweat. Now the barns are full and the products of the soil and pasture ready for city markets. Our countryman shall now get his reward for his long toil.

"It is Saturday and market day in the city. In long rows stand the carts, barrels, and baskets of the country-folk. Loads of straw and hay, grain, eggs, potatoes, fish and meat are all about. It is a long way to market and profits are considerably lessened when one reckons the time spent in going and coming,



but as our proverb says, 'Flying crows pick up a dinner; sitting ones get nothing.' Purchasers are numerous and much business gets itself done. The wagons are empty again.

"At one corner of the market stands a notorious drink-shop, a veritable scourge for the peasants. At the unpainted tables sit helpless men, some sleeping, some shouting monotonously painful melodies, some swearing and striking their clenched fists so that the beer mugs are upset and their contents run in streams mingling with vomit and urine on the floor. At the bar stands the girl opening bottles. Money runs in a steady stream into her till. It is the billowy grain fields, the products of the dairy, the hard weeks of labor which now as ringing coin pass into the drawer.

"The money begins to give out. The drinkers can get no more drink. This angers them and the fighting begins. They push each other out. The police appear and drag one after another to the lockup. Some are carried to the wagons, the horses are untied and start off on the run, irritated with cold and the incessant whippings which they now receive. Meanwhile fights started in the drink shops are continued in the market place."

What a picture of "the poor man's club!" In the Paris colloquial such a place is called a bludgeon 'un assomoir.' It is where men are "assomé"—knocked down, mauled, oppressed as the dictionary defines the word. I suppose no one ever heard a genuine wage-worker use the phrase "the poor

man's club." It drops usually from the mouths of  
"delicate handed  
snowy banded"

"society" rectors or of professors in our seaboard universities. There is an interesting passage in Prince Krapotkine's "Memoirs" in which the writer describes the uneasiness which the work people on his Siberian expeditions always felt when drawing near to a town. They feared the temptation to drink and the danger of arrest. If they had known what the modern alcohol investigation has revealed their fear would have been far more intense.

The System out of its opulence has been putting up well-built drink-shops in parts of Stockholm where tourists are apt to wander. These are, however, merely the Potemkin villages of Gothenburgism. Leave Grev Thuregaten and Malmskilnadsgaten and go into the mean streets. There you find mean shops to match.

To call the saloon, whether of the American or of the Scandinavian type, the working man's club is an insult to those who in the last analysis hold up our whole social structure as the tortoise the Hindu cosmos. That after his frugal meal of "potatoes and racket gravy" he should have no place to go to except these dens where his liver is hobnailed and his kidneys rotted, where he is sold tuberculosis<sup>(1)</sup> and men-

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(1) To frequent a drink-shop is one of the most certain ways of receiving frequent and large doses of infection (of consumption and cancer.)—Sir Victor Horsley "Alcohol and the Human Body," p. 349.

tally stupified is a shameful indictment of our social arrangements. Until we can do better every basement in the school and other public buildings of our American cities should be fitted up as rest and recreation places for the humbler public.

The System in its relation to the poorer strata of society stands for two things—narcosis of the masses and taxes from the masses. Whatever the feeling in America, in Europe where the thought of the revolution always lingers in society's subliminal consciousness, the drinkshop with its quieting and deadening influence is undoubtedly looked upon with favor by the privileged. It is no accident that the fight against the English excise reform of 1908 was led by Lord Rothschild. Dr. Blocher speaking in October, 1900, to a thousand workmen in Vienna was stopped by the police when he began on the stupefying effects of alcohol on the masses. The case of Dr. Froehlich is even more striking. A physician in the Vienna General Hospital, a convinced socialist, a speaker of great power and warm personality,—to his efforts have been chiefly due the great growth of abstinence principles among the proletariat of Austria. Four years ago he started on a lecture tour in Germany. His agitation was on purely anti-alcoholist lines,—not a whisper of revolutionary socialism. Yet in Dresden, Breslau and other places he was forbidden to speak and at a great meeting in the English garden in Kiel was interrupted by gendarmerie and ordered out of Prussia in three days.

But besides furnishing a social chloroform, the Gothenburg System in common with excise arrangements generally, deflects taxation from the rich to shoulders least able to bear it. The income from this source is in most Swedish towns and cities the largest single payment made.<sup>(1)</sup> This is in itself a pretty good statement of the System's failure as a temperance institution. And it must be remembered that by this tax the poorer classes are victimised<sup>(2)</sup>—self-victimised if you will though there is much in our social arrangements to explain and even excuse the fact. Not long since, for example, a general strike was declared in Helsingborg. The leaders ordered a boycott on all

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(1) This pecuniary prosperity gives a prestige to public poisoning which is positively immoral. The writer recalls visiting a fine new church in Lysekil largely constructed by the profits of the alcohol shop. The founder of the shop had been given a free pew in perpetuum and was the only citizen so honored.

(2) "The Gothenburg System has degenerated into an institution for squeezing the poorest of our population through their thirst for drink in order to get money to ease the tax burden of the well-situated classes. It has altogether lost its philanthropic character. It keeps the wage-worker on a low cultural and social plane. It is a typical illustration of communal greed and selfishness. The most scandalous inhumanity thrives year after year and the worst breaches of law are practised in the Company's drink-shops. Away with the blood money of the Gothenburg System! Away with this thoroughly corrupted institution!"

Ulrich: "Göteborgs Systemet och dess Användning i Stockholm och Goteborg," p. 37.

the shops of the System and posted pickets, at the door of each saloon to urge workingmen not to enter. The result on the day reported—June 11, 1908,—was that the money taken over the bars of the city was not enough to pay the bar-girls wages for the day.

If such a strike against drink could be made permanent, and this is what the Swedish socialists have declared for by their advocacy of prohibitory legislation, other sources of taxation would have to be tapped. It is this indeed which is leading many Swedish temperance workers to mobilise behind Henry George's theory in preparation for an attack on the unearned increment.<sup>(1)</sup> And it is doubtless for this reason that vested interests find the Gothenburg System so "satisfactory in its moral workings."

At the present writing there is a noticeable movement among the work people in Sweden towards petitioning for some slight relief from the blessings the System brings. The early closing of the shops in Gothenburg during the present season of industrial depression has given hope of similar action elsewhere. The White Ribbon Society of Stockholm has received a petition for forwarding to the Bolag authorities from women and children of wageworkers for Sunday closing of the drink places in that city as well as for the suppression of the sale of drink when food is not sold and for early closing on Saturday. Encouraged by

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(1) See Hansson's "Jordvärdebeskattning i stället för Rusdrycksbeskattning," pp. 21, 22.

early closing in their city, Gothenburg workmen have asked for one o'clock closing on every day in the week. This has been declined on the ground that said petition "has not come from suitable parties."

In Landskrona an association of the unemployed has sent to the magistrates this petition.

"Our union of unemployed observes with pain how many persons in this period of need and depression continue to buy drink with money they need for other and useful purposes, and respectfully beg the magistracy to seek some way of preventing this state of things. Best would it be in our judgment if the drinkshops were all closed during this slack period but if this is too radical, a limitation of hours would be of great advantage.

"In many a workingman's home the need is far greater than it otherwise would be because the wages are, week after week, spent for drink instead of for family supplies. To appeal to the better instincts of the drinker does not avail. Such are no longer in possession of a free will. They cannot desist from drinking.

"For this reason the authorities should at least limit the hours of sale and the quantity any given individual can buy. This is especially necessary at a time of want and unemployment. Well would it be if at all times drinkers should be obliged to abstain from a low and coarse pleasure which increases their misery and destroys their moral and physical health."

A socialist temperance lodge in Arboga recently

issued an appeal to workmen to keep away from the drinkshop. It was posted on the billboards of the town but was torn down by the city treasurer (significant fact!) Again it was put up; again torn down. Here is a part of this dangerous document:

“Workmen, Comrades.

“Avoid the drink-shop. Don’t visit these miserable nests which are set up to pull you down, to keep you in ignorance and to rob you of your hard earnings. Don’t be misled by the enticements of the brewer and the saloon-keeper. Thousands upon thousands are pining behind Swedish prison walls because of drink, thousands upon thousands of homes are laid waste because of the same drink and thousands and thousands of hungry children cry themselves to sleep because of the ravages of this terrible evil.

“But in their elegant palaces beer and brandy kings roll in luxury at the cost of hungry, weeping women and children.

Comrades, give nothing to your enemies!

Comrades, shun the saloon!”

Some one will perhaps object that a large part of the moneys taken from the poor returns to them in the form of relief and of free institutional arrangements of various sorts. The list of the donations to charities made by the Hamar Samlag is before me. On the face of it it seems a fairly satisfactory document. From the surplus of the business 400 kroner are given to an orphan asylum, 500 kroner to clothing poor children, 300 to poor relief, 300 to a hospital, 300 to a workman’s

academy, 500 to a cooking school, and so on down a quarter of a column of a newspaper,—Sunday schools and mission halls not being forgotten, either, in the kindly distribution.<sup>(1)</sup>

The particular vice of the vicious circle which such reports represent seems to one person at least to be hypocrisy. The fines for drunkenness in Stockholm are estimated by the editor of "Verdandisten" to have amounted in 1908 to something like 222,000 kroner. Most of this comes from the poorest of the poor. The amount granted this year by the Swedish parliament to temperance societies and various forms of temperance work, the cure of drunkards and the like, was 201,750 kroner—20,000 kroner less. And this is for all Sweden while the above mentioned fine money came from Stockholm alone.

Mr. Jonsson of Hökhult, in his motion for local option in the Riksdag mentioned the fact that there are today more than 50,000 drunkards in Sweden. Such is one fruit of the Gothenburg System. For the cure of these alcohol-sick the Riksdag of 1909 set apart 50,500 kron-

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(1) It has been recently remarked that this particular Samlag refused to make a grant to the Orje Sanatorium for the Cure of Alcoholists but in 1908 gave 1109 kroner and in 1909, 255 more to a Festivity Hall in Hamar and gave rebates on liquors sold to a gathering of singing clubs at Nes to such a point that these liquors were actually delivered below cost! The management defended itself against the complaint of the government auditor by explaining that these reductions were made for business reasons.



er—27 cents apiece. But four times as much—222,0000 kroner—was according to Mr. Törnfeldt's estimate mulcted from the alcohol-sick of Stockholm alone.

The sham humanitarianism of Gothenburgism could have no more vivid illustration. Whatever little relief the poor get is but a percentage from the pickings of their pockets. If they keep hold of their saloon money they will need little charity and any such help would then be genuine.

One of the most striking reports from the great local option war in Ohio in 1909 is that after prohibition it is almost impossible to get washerwomen in "dry" towns. Wives of drinking men are now supported as they should be. Similar stories came from Kansas when the joints were closed. The shoe dealers never sold so many women's and children's shoes. If the Gothenburg System had been set up in these places the women would still be washing, the shoes would be in the show windows, and the various denominational and fraternal societies would be rivals for the profits of the common wealth from common woe which the System brings. For this is a thing which is too often forgotten. Scandinavia is a homogeneous land racially and religiously. It is a land too without political intrigue and graft. The immense sums to be divided among asylums and hospitals and institutions of differing folks and faiths in America would be a fruitful source of discord and logrolling. The right of distribution would be a basis for machine action with

hardly a parallel in our present system.<sup>(2)</sup> The only wisdom is to keep the money in the pockets of those who earn it.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(2) "It gives influence and prestige to sit on the directorate of the Samlag and to distribute moneys to hungry institutions." Scharffenberg's *Kampen mod Alkoholen i Norge*, p. 7.

(3) The following incident will illustrate the short sightedness of the admirers of the Samlag charity system:

In a fight against the Samlag in a small Norwegian town one of the prohibitionists asked an old woman if she would not vote against the drink-shop. No, she wouldn't; she earned a kroner every Saturday washing for the Samlag.

"But haven't you a husband who earns something?"

"Yes he earns 14 kroner a week in a saw-mill."

"But that's surely enough for you?"

"For the land's sake, I don't get anything of that. He drinks his whole pay up at the Samlag."—Menneskevennen, Sept. 6, 07.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### Violation of Law Under the System.

"And Trinculo is reeling ripe. Where should they find this grand liquor that hath gilded them?"

—The Tempest.

By means of the prohibitory law Americans get rid of legal sale. There often remains however a troublesome though exaggerated illicit sale which time, patience, and additional federal legislation will reduce to a minimum. But the Gothenburg System while retaining the legal sale, and that is its essential evil, gives no especial guarantee against illegal sale. Its managers violate the principles at least of the System by shipping drink into no-license territories. They undoubtedly often sell to bootleggers their stock in trade.

We have referred elsewhere to Egersund, the town nine-tenths of whose Samlag's sale is in surrounding "dry" territory. The city government and the directorate of this Samlag are one and the same persons. When, therefore, they were in their capacity of city fathers appealed to by individuals and societies in prohibition Stavanger not to send drink into that city they naturally enough did not see their way clear to intervene. Later, however, it was agreed not to ship drink to a place if the authorities of that place

requested them to refrain. But they have not kept their promise. Drink has been sent to neighboring places and then trans-shipped to "dry" towns. It has also been sent to false addresses.

The editor of the "Egersund Post" is chairman of the Samlag. Consul Puntervold, a shareholder, sent to the paper criticisms of the Samlag's management. He was denied access to its columns. He stated therefore on a flier which he sent about the place that the management paid to the city exorbitant rents for its building, in this way giving the city money which ought to have gone to the Norwegian state.<sup>(1)</sup>

It has further paid excessive salaries—five times as much to its auditor as the auditor of the commune is paid,—extra pay to a director "for making addresses and writing articles in defense of the Samlag," etc.

Abuses in little Egersund! What would there not be in Boston or New York?

On the North Cape a drink shop affiliated with the System has been opened for those philistine tourists who cannot enjoy the glory of the midnight sun without wine. It was not expected that this shop would sell to fishermen and country folk round about.

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(1) Mr. Oskar Petersson intimates that similar tricks are played in Sweden. In a large city on the west coast the Bolag threatened to suspend selling altogether because the city interfered with its building plans. Up to that time it had hired its selling place from the city at an unreasonably high rate and the city authorities did not wish to lose this golden egg.—Svenska Rusdryckslagstiftningen, p. 58.

The law indeed allows this but the alleged moral and restraining influence of the System ought to have been a guarantee against it. "I notice," writes an indignant correspondent, "boat after boat coming from Gjaesvaer and other adjacent fishing villages to buy wine and recall with a shudder the conditions in which they return home. Many a poor fisherman has spent 100 kroner there. Nowhere in Norway are the regulations of the law more violated. They sell night and day; Sunday and holiday." (Correspondence in *Menneskevennen*, 5, June, 1908.)

The "Karlstad Tidning" (June, 1909) writes of the Bolag shops of that city: "All our drink-selling places without exception act in the most irresponsible way towards confirmed drunkards. None know better who have reached this stage of the vice than the personnel of these places. Yet they rarely make any attempt to prevent drunkards from getting drunk. 'He is a good customer. We can't very well refuse such a one what he asks for. It is the morality of the business to treat purchasers well.'"

At a recent meeting of the municipal authorities of the Swedish town of Saeter a protest was issued against the phrase used by the management of the local Gothenburg System Company to the effect that their activity was "in the interest of morality." As indicating how far from the truth this was, the fact was adduced that at times when the police had ordered the shutting up of the Company drink-shop they had actually kept it open. By a large majority the follow-

ing statement was adopted: "Under no circumstances can the traffic in intoxicants be spoken of as being carried on in the interests of morality. Least of all can this claim be justified in the case of the institution in Saeter where it violates the laws laid down by the city government. We make as the responsible leaders of the city, a distinct protest against this contention as to the moral character of the Company drink-shop."

One would suppose that in Gothenburg, the home of the System, whither the already convinced go from England and America to study its working and whence they return with such expectedly rosy reports, there would be no law breaking on the part of the management. Not so!

An observer examining the situation here writes to the "National Kuriren":

"One can see the drink-shop a long way off. Outside stands a line of people, among them many children, waiting their turn. A large number of them are semi-intoxicated. All shiver in the cold and some swear because things do not move more quickly. A policeman from time to time straightens out the line of drunk and sober. After an interval each has made his purchases. Sober and drunk leave the place together with the bottle or bottles which they have bought.

"But!—drunken people and minors are according to the law not allowed to purchase drink. This is expressly forbidden by the royal regulations of the 9th

of June, 1905. Nevertheless it is done in broad daylight and as a matter of course.

"Again. Just opposite a third-class saloon of the Gothenburg System a crowd of people have gathered. They are watching a man beastly drunk lying in the gutter outside. He has just been thrown out by the drink seller after having sat the whole day spending the money he had saved in the house of correction at Svartsjö, where he had broken stone for months because the drink sold him by our moral institution had been too much for him.

"But!—the royal regulations say definitely in the 31st paragraph: 'A drunken person may not be turned out of a drinkshop where he has been drinking or left without supervision.'

"And once again. Your correspondent happened recently into a suburban inn. There, too, he noticed violations of law. The royal regulations, paragraph 6, say: 'Innkeepers are not allowed to serve beer unless at the same time food is ordered.'

"But!—the clause was being scandalously violated. A large number of people were in the dining room drinking. No food was to be seen. Intoxicated persons entered and were served drink. People not intoxicated were plied with drink until they became so. The noisy ones were unceremoniously ejected as the evening wore on. Violation of this type is so common that it is a question if people generally realize that it is a breach of law.

"And still again. Passing another place we noticed

a group of loafers who were putting together money enough to purchase another liter of spirits after they had finished together one bottle. One of the party took the money and went into the Company Shop to buy a bottle the contents of which he would then sell to his cronies.

"But!—the law forbids all such subselling. Yet as in the other case such violations of law are of daily, rather hourly occurrence throughout the year."

Mr. Oskar Petersson, who has made a searching critique of the System, says that in the yearly reports of the Swedish Finance Department there are many severe references to the actions of a large number of Companies. These strictures especially relate to unjustifiable incomes which have come to various individuals and institutions from the Company and secondly, to abuses in the system of letting out rights of retailing drink to affiliated drink-shops.

Many Bolags have attempted to increase their income by sending out agents to push the trade (literally so! "För uppdrivande af affaren!") and by reducing prices before church holidays as Easter and Christmas.

These attempts to stimulate trade have been made sometimes for the sake of the legitimate dividings between state and charitable institutions, sometimes to increase the incomes of directors and administrators. A certain per cent of the income has gone to different servants of the company as additional pay.

Other ways of milking the Company have been,—



a. Charging it unreasonable rents and pocketing the increased charge; b. taking rebates which really belonged to the Company; c. buying spirits from the distillers on credit and charging the Company commissions for advancing money, etc.

The system of subletting has opened the way for great abuses. Mr. Petersson mentions one Company which rented out all its licenses, not operating a single one itself! Some of these sub-sellers of the System have received their right to sell that they may deal in finer grades of liquors but as a matter of fact sell the wretchedest kinds of cognac.

He also gives a vivid picture of how the law is violated as to closing at ten o'clock at night in an affiliated restaurant of the better sort under the Gothenburg System. The police telephone that they are coming for inspection and when they arrive two hours after closing time lights are all put out and the guests sit still in darkness.

When the police commissioners asked why the restaurants at Hasselbacken — the well-known Stockholm resort—were not closed at the time of evening service on Sunday as the law requires, one of the restaurateurs bluntly said: "That would never do. There would certainly be a riot." And to such law-breakers the Gothenburg System sublets the right of drink-selling.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) O. Petersson "Svenska rusdryckslagstiftningen och Göteborgs Systemet," pp. 30-31 and 40-43.

When Caligula was reproached by Antonia, his grandmother, for some bad deed, he retorted with astonished eyes, "Have you forgotten that all things are allowed me?" This is the attitude of Pabst and Schlitz and Blatz and Seipp and Busch—the beer uitlanders. The brewer is the chief hindrance to the enforcement of liquor laws in the United States.

The temper of this personage is much the same in Scandinavia. The System having nothing to do with the manufacture is powerless to control him, which is the capital reason why its adoption in the United States would be so futile a move. His bootlegging agents when in trouble are reasonably secure of having their fines paid for them by some one higher up. Beer is packed and shipped like mineral waters for the convenience of violators. "During the field manoeuvres at Jederen last week" so runs a clipping before me, "there were many complaints of traders bringing beer to sell to soldiers and sight-seers. One man is said to have disposed of a hundred cases of beer in this way. Where were the police?"

So even if the Samlag were really a sort of airtight stove which kept the fire strictly confined it would be of little protection to "Mother Norway." Another fire burns merrily all the while out of sight in the plaster. Here is an illustration of the lawlessness of Norwegian brewerdom. The keeper of the skydstation in Mysen in Smaalene trading in drink contrary to the law, as the brewers who supplied him well knew, returned in nine months, 1904-05, to various

breweries 230 cases of empty bottles. There were many tragic consequences of this blind tiger's activity. Thus one evening a young man stopped at the station on his way to Christiania where he was to be married. He had 500 kroner on him. He began drinking, lost his money at cards, and on reaching Christiania attempted in his desperation to shoot both his sweetheart and himself. He was punished, but the blind pig and the brewer swineherds of Christiania remained untouched.

It is not necessary to multiply instances. We will give but two more, one from the Swedish capital and one from the Norwegian.

"Social-Demokraten" of Stockholm some time since described a blind pig in that city whose sales are constantly increasing. The proprietor who is nominally a cigar-dealer buys brandy en gros and bottles it in half liter flasks which he sells at a considerable profit. "Just ask for a white cigar and you will get your bottle." The business is quite lively perhaps three hundred bottles a week being sold.

"Afton-Posten" of Christiania says: "In spite of all measures it has been impossible to stop the sale of furniture polish for drink to the lazzaroni of the city. It is bought from masked brandy shops operating as shellac stores. Bottles containing spirits with a little coloring matter to give the appearance of shellac and a slight tincture of the latter to enable the seller to truthfully excuse himself to the police, constitute the stock in trade of these ingenious law-breakers.

Women, too, engage in the business. One of these female 'gaukerinde' has profited so largely by this lucrative trade that she is now able to live a care-free existence in America."

The nullification of liquor laws under whatsoever system it occurs raises the whole drink question to a level of the highest constitutional importance. Is the law to be supreme? Is majority rule to be the norm of legislation? Are statutes to be repealed or altered at the will of those who wish to break them? Open the dikes at one point and we will soon be submerged at every point.

The Sunday closing law of St. Louis was for years nullified by the brewers. "Repeal it therefore," said President Eliot in his contribution to the Report of the Committee of Fifty. A wiser and firmer man, Gov. Folk, effected its rigid enforcement. Darwin speaks in one of his letters of the law against sending sweeps up chimneys. "It makes one shudder," said he, "to fancy one of one's own children at seven years being forced up a chimney, to say nothing of the consequent loathsome disease and ulcerated limbs and utter moral degradation. Yet the brutal Shropshire squires are as hard as stones to move. The Act out of London seems most commonly violated."

Some would have gasped "You can't enforce it; be satisfied with regulations. Let it apply only to the smallest chimneys and the most dangerous." But Darwin's clear-headed sister, Susan, prototype of so many clear-headed American temperance women, or-

ganized a society and prosecuted the offenders. And this is the only thing to be done under all such circumstances.

If the management of the Gothenburg System were really interested in temperance, as is supposed by many, they would not only obey all regulations for preventing drunkenness but would of their own initiative do many things which would materially help on the fight against alcoholism. They could make of their sales rooms for bottled goods (Minut-Handel) a permanent anti-alcohol exhibition like the traveling ones of Switzerland. The thousand and one weighty facts which the alcohol research has given us could be brought to the knowledge of precisely that constituency which needs most to know them. On the walls of the drinking places quotations from Forel and Kraepelin and Legrain would dissuade drinkers from slow suicide. On the labels of bottles medico-hygienic matter in regard to alcohol of the first importance could be printed. Wrapping paper would be a useful vehicle of statistical and physiological information—and so on.

But the System if it will not dissuade its customers from suicide does not propose to commit suicide itself. The enlightenment of the public as to alcohol is the last thing it wishes.

Finally. Of all the terrible toxic essences absinthe is without doubt the most to be feared. Belgium and Switzerland—thoroughly alcoholized lands—prohibit its sale. Holland is planning to do the same.

The best elements in France lead by the Academy of Medicine are in arms against it. One would have expected that the Gothenburg System would have long since taken the moderate step of absinthe prohibition. But no. It has no scruples in dealing in this absolutely lethal poison.

To be sure the System has lowered the alcoholic strength of "Company nectar" (i. e. potato brandy) from 39.7 per cent to 39.2 per cent and plumes itself on its moral self-restraint. But 13 per cent of the yeast plant's excrement in a solution is enough to kill the yeast-plant. Nearly three times that strength is what the Company allows for the sensitive cells of the human brain.

To expect such an institution to look after the interests of temperance would indeed be as the Norwegian proverb has it "setting the ram to guard the oat-sack."

## CHAPTER IX.

### A Dam of Ice and the Breakwater of Granite.

"It is not wise men who build dams of ice in the spring."  
—Swedish proverb.

In Norway the first movement after the passage of the local option law of 1894 was towards closing the drink-shops. Twenty-seven cities voted dry out of fifty-one. Then followed a slight reaction. Seven Samlags were reinstated and only two shut down. Rowntree and Sherwell made much of this lapse.

But the next stadium has been distinctly prohibitionist again. It is as if the Norwegian electorate realised that after all its first intuitions were the right ones. There are now thirty-six dry cities against twenty-seven wet, the rural districts at large being under prohibition. In the local option contests of 1907, out of 13 wet cities contested the temperance party won six. It is a striking fact showing how satisfied the people are with prohibition that in only six of the prohibition cities did the alcohol interest attempt to bring back the Samlag and in all of these they were defeated. It may be added that in the 19 local option contests of 1907 the votes stood 21,942 dry to 16,238 wet. In the preceding election the same cities gave 13,641 dry and 19,457 wet. The result shows clearly enough whither the popular consciousness is turning.

If the Gothenburg System were the ideal thing it is made out to be, its agents and supporters, one would suppose, would hold aloof in local option contests and let the people decide the question on its merits without their intervention. This has not been the case however. The Samlag fights for its life with all the tenacity of any vulgar American saloon. It does not hesitate either to hit below the belt. In the last election it repeatedly tried to muzzle temperance workers. The eloquent Pastor Gunderson was threatened with the bishop's interdict against his speaking. To cow Dr. Scharffenberg, a well-known physician and "Samlag stormer" holding a position in a Christiania hospital, suggestions of action on the part of the city government were bruited.

In Frederikstad the teachers worked against the Samlag. Therefore they must be punished. Their request for increase in salary, previously endorsed by the school committee and city authorities, was when the result of the local option vote became known, thrown out without ceremony. In Hönefos where the workingmen fought the Samlag they too were punished. How? By denying free school material to their boys and girls. Such is the spirit and temper of the Norwegian System in practise, whatever it may be on paper.

Facts are continually cropping up which explain this envenomed attitude. It has been recently discovered for example that the largest stock-holders in the Hölen Samlag are the well-known Christiania whole-



sale liquor dealers, Damman and Baltzersen whose advertisements blazon the sides of the daily papers of the metropolis. The Samlag is presumably an outlet for the sale of their wet goods.

It is not surprising that the Norwegians are getting weary of the Samlag. <sup>(1)</sup> If you open the official report <sup>(2)</sup> of the System for 1907 you will see why. The statistics of drunkenness are given for the whole of Norway from 1866 to 1904,—an entire generation. Not only is there no improvement but things are actually going from bad to worse. Christiania's arrests per thousand inhabitants during the years 1866-70 averaged 37. In 1900-04 it was 80, or more than double. Trondhjem's record is even more discouraging. The average number of arrests have risen in the same group of years from 19 to 70. Bergen is practically stationary but all other towns together show in

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(1) According to article 7 of their program the temperance party in Norway is seeking to put all outstanding private sale under the System. The alcohol capital opposes this. But the chief reason for the action of both parties does not lie in any anticipation of a greatly decreased sale in case such a re-arrangement of the retail trade take place though a certain decrease would perhaps result. It is because this step is a preliminary to prohibition. Nero wished a single head for the Roman people that he might cut it off at one blow. The temperance party seeks to concentrate the trade that it may more easily destroy it. It opposes the Samlag and aims at ultimate national prohibition.

(2) Braendvins Samlagene og Forbruket av Braendevin, via og öl i 1907, (p. 27, 29.)

this period an average increase (from 23 to 49 arrests per thousand.) Even the prohibition country shares in this increase (from .9 to 2.7 arrests per thousand) but the slight number of arrests compared with that of the cities shows clearly enough prohibition's advantages. If the Samlags were not allowed to nullify the prohibition régime in the country districts and if the sale of beer were universally prohibited there as well as that of spirits, this increase in arrests would presumably not have to be registered.

But how, some one will ask, does the fact of increasing drunkenness square with Norway's declining alcohol consumption? There are two possible explanations. Any recent decline <sup>(1)</sup> comes from the increasing num-

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(1) As a matter of fact the great decline in Norwegian consumption came in the early years before the Samlag was first established. It was a direct result of legislation prohibiting home distilling and prohibiting sale in the country. Since 1870 when the Samlags were established decline in consumption has been inconsiderable.

Mr. André, manager of the System in Gothenburg, calls attention to the fact that while Denmark's consumption is 10.87 liters per cap., Sweden's 4.5 liters and Norway's 2.69 liters, the arrests in Copenhagen are only 7,797 or 20 in the thousand of population against 11,232 in Stockholm (37 to the thousand), and in Christiania 17,083 or 76 per thousand. In other words while incomplete prohibition in the country has cut down the national consumption of alcohol in Norway and Sweden, the Samlag in the capital cities has pushed the drunkenness up far in excess of that of drunken Copenhagen with its free sale. In view of such facts one wonders how a "system" so little "refutation tight" can find defenders at all.

ber of abstainers and from the greater prohibitory area. Where the Samlag operates drunkenness advances. Christiania is the citadel of the system. With only one-tenth of the nation's population it consumes one-fourth of its alcohol. Director Kjaer made in 1899-1900 a study of the capital's drunkenness. He discovered among other things that of the male population over fifteen years who drank at all, 16 per cent or 9,600, were either intemperate or pronounced drunkards.

From Director's Kjaer's investigations <sup>(2)</sup> it appears that the yearly consumption of alcohol per capita is:

In Christiania under the System (and with 29 private dealers) 6½ liter of absolute alcohol.

In the other cities of Norway (some under prohibition and some under Samlag) 4½ liters.

In the country under prohibition (but overrun with Samlag brandy) 2 liters.

In 1900 Christiania had 13,890 arrests for drunk and disorderly. In the entire country districts (excluding all cities) the aggregate population of which is nearly six times that of Christiania there were but 4,663 such arrests. <sup>(3)</sup> Not far from 18 times as many arrests relatively under the System as under prohibition.

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<sup>(2)</sup> Scharffenberg's Kamp mod Alkoholen i Norge, p. 23.

<sup>(3)</sup> Scharffenberg's Kamp mod Alkoholen i Norge, p. 24.

Any objection that the country everywhere shows up better than the city begs the whole question. The first reason for the bad record of the city is its alcoholism.

The statistics of death from alcoholism are quite as convincing. In 1900 the rural population was two and a half times that of the combined urban population of Norway. But the deaths from acute alcoholism given in physicians' statements between 1896 and 1900 were a little over one-third as many in the country as in the cities, 38 against 95. Here again the prohibitory régime, and that of Norway is partial and defective, shows up better than the System.<sup>(1)</sup>

Another proof of the same superiority is found in Dr. Scharffenberg's tables of Sunday arrests. In Copenhagen where the drink-shops are open on Sunday the number of arrests exceeds that of the average on week-days (159 as against 140). In Christiania the Samlag shops are closed on Sunday and holidays. On the 61 such days in 1907 there were in all 576 arrests, or 9.10 per day. The average for the week days throughout the year was 29 per day. Sunday should have the largest number of arrests, being a day of unemployment, but prohibition keeps down the number. While in certain continental cities of the number of assaults 35 to 46 per cent are according to the same tables on Sunday, only 10 per cent in Christiania fall

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(1) Scharffenberg's *Kamp mod Alkoholen i Norge*, p 24.

on that day, considerably less than on any week day.<sup>(2)</sup>

From Sweden we get a similar story. Mr. S. Wieselgren, the Company's spokesman, naively says: "By prohibiting the sale of spirits on Sunday the Company is continually bringing down the figures of drunkenness for that day in Gothenburg!"

Prohibition is not widely enough developed yet in Scandinavia to give us extensive comparative evidence, yet now and again statistics emerge in the public press the meaning of which is unmistakeable. Here for example: Grimstad was a prohibition town down to 1900. Then it lapsed. The number of arrests the last year under prohibition was 147; under the first year of the Samlag 272 and in each year since has been higher than in any prohibition year in spite of the fact that the Hasseldalen Ship Building Company has closed its works and taken from the town a considerable drinking population.

Of four little towns on the South coast of Norway, Lillesand and Mandal adopted prohibition; Grimstad and Ekersund established Samlag shops. The combined population of the last two is slightly in excess of the first two,—6,252 against 5,275. But their superiority in drunkenness is not in the least slight. The figures of arrest are, for the two prohibition towns, 34; for the Samlag towns, 341, a tenfold multiplication.

During the local option contest in Larvik in 1908

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(2) Braendevins Samlagene og Forbruket av Braendvine Vin og öl i 1907, p. 21-22.

the citizens of Sandefjord which had driven out the Samlag sent the following statement to encourage the people of Larvik to follow their example. It reads not unlike documents of local option contests in Ohio, 1909:

"The undersigned with a full sense of responsibility wish to state that conditions in Sandefjord have decidedly improved since the Company drink-shop was suppressed in 1908. This is clearly indicated by the fact that arrests in the last year of the drink régime were 288; in the present year of prohibition (1906) only 137.

"With regard to prohibition's effect on trade, it is admitted on all sides that conditions are better and that sales are distinctly greater than before. This is proved for example by the fact that the amount of imported articles sold in the last decade has increased, according to custom-house statistics, 300 per cent and that the working capital of the city banks has in the same time more than trebled.

"A large number of those who at the last election were most zealous defenders of the Samlag now assert that if the question should be brought up again they would be found on the side of the present prohibitory régime.

(Signed). Andreas Hasle,  
L. Sörenson.

Sandefjord."

In 1907 there was a great lockout in the Borregaard cellulose industry at Sarpsborg. During the 37

days of the lockout 1,800 men were idle. Fortunately when the works were closed down, the drink-shop<sup>(1)</sup> operated by the Borregaard Company was at the same time shut. During these 37 days when the operatives were out on the street with all their time at their disposal public order was according to the daily press beyond criticism. Only 14 arrests for drunkenness occurred. If the average had been up to that prevailing for the five preceding months when the men were employed and when the drink shop was open, the number would have been 87, or six times as many. This is about the measure of the superiority of prohibition over restriction and regulation.

The statistics for prohibition Sunday in Sarpsborg compared with open week days (January to July, 1907) were as follows:

Sundays 2 arrests, Saturdays 97 arrests, Fridays 56 arrests, Mondays 65 arrests. Can one doubt for an instant but that if the drink-shop were open on Sunday, the single free day of the week, the arrests would have mounted up to at least that of the most temperate week and work day, Tuesday with its 41 arrests, i. e. have increased twentyfold?<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) Not indeed under Samlag control but managed on the same plan as to time of closing, regulations concerning sale to minors, the drunken, etc. It cannot be supplanted by a Samlag because of certain inherited privileges. The company controlling it is one of the largest and most responsible in Norway.

(2) Scharffenberg, "Afholdspolitiske Spørgsmaal," III p. 116.

Every year there is a winter market lasting some days at Kongsvinger, a town near the Swedish frontier. In this town is a Samlag whose shop has up to the present run full blast on fair days. The writer noticed in the newspapers, accounts of the shameful state of things in the week of 1908. Ladies were afraid to go on the street after sundown because of the drunken rowdiness. A visitor narrated that his coachman when driving through the crowd on the main street was obliged to push aside drunken men in order to prevent his horse running over them. In 1909 the drinkshop was closed in the fair season and an improvement was immediately noticeable. "The market of the present year showed no falling off in attendance as some feared," writes one. "Indeed there were exceptionally large crowds present. Yet there was hardly a drunken man to be seen." The police report corroborates this fact. Here is the statistic:

Arrests for drunkenness during fair days at Kongsvinger:

1905—34 arrests.

1906—30 arrests.

1907—54 arrests.

1908—33 arrests.

1909— 7 arrests under temporary prohibition.

In other words prohibition has done away here with four-fifths of the drunkenness which the System has to its credit.

In December last there occurred a frightful murder in the Vestfjorddal. It now transpires that



the murderer had prepared for action by purchasing spirits from the Kongsberg model drink-shop. When, to quote Keats, "the wine had done its rosy deed," the wiseacres of the government, past-masters in the belated shutting of stable-doors as the governing class elsewhere, thought it well to investigate this drink-shop. It found that the alcohol was procured by post and drunk both by murderer and victim and also that this same shop had sent out by mail during the year the weight of 1,068 kilograms (about 2,100 pounds)! Over a ton of poison and glass distributed through the mail by this regulated drink shop in violation of the spirit if not of the letter of the law. The department in Christiania now threatens to annul the license of the Kongsberg Samlag.

The respect for law and the means for enforcing law undoubtedly stand higher in Scandinavia than in American cities. If such scandals occur in Norway worse ones would occur in New York and Chicago and have occurred in South Carolina under a system similar to that prevailing in Norway.

In Sweden there is as yet no local-option legislation though the lower house of the Riksdag voted for such in 1908. But in certain towns the authorities have without popular mandate refused to permit the model drinking places to continue their pernicious work. Then comes a change for the better. We get this for example from Elmhult in Småland, not far from the place where stood the country parsonage in

which the great botanist Linnaeus was born. The reporter is Dr. med. Söderberg:

"Between Oct. 1, 1904, and Nov. 1, 1907,—37 months—there were in Elmhult not less than eight cases of suicide, murder and fatal accident, all of which were more or less directly traceable to spirits from the Gothenburg shop. From Nov. 1, 1907, when the sale ceased there was in the 18½ months to the time of the publication of this report not a single case of death from this cause."

When the shop is closed in one town many of the drinkers for the first few months send off to neighboring places after brandy. The result is of course increased profits for the "open shop" town. The anti-prohibitionist sages of the press make much of this. Skeninge in Östergötland for example has profited to the extent of 18,000 kroner in the past year by the action of its neighbor Mjölby in closing its drink-shop. "If this continues," remark these smug money-moralizers, "Skeninge's finances will soon be on an enviably secure basis."

At the same time a similar case occurring in Darlecarlia is adduced. Hedemora is "in the butter" because of the folly of Saeter whose town-council has closed the local drink-shop.

But the coin has its reverse side. The "Östergötland Correspondent," no friend of temperance either, pictures it. It is not so pleasant as that of smiling Plenty with 18,000 silver kroner running out of her cornucopia.

"A sigh of relief escaped all classes of society when the last market man packed into the train. For this time the crowd has been both mixed and decidedly unpleasant. For example a woman was seen resolutely hitting a man on his skull with a bottle so that the blood spurted in all directions. The fellow was forced to jump and run. People thought he had tried to commit suicide. Meanwhile in the drink-shop the carryings-on baffled description. A circus employé insulted the wife of the man who ran the place and then choked 'mine host' until he was blue-black in the face. Everybody says that drunkenness, rowdiness, and roughness took during this fair week dimensions exceeding those in any one's memory, at least for decades. There was no lack of drink on all sides."

And how has it gone in prohibition Saeter? "Though the temperance party is in the minority in the town council," writes a correspondent, "yet none of the opposite party will propose a return to the System. The general opinion is that the community is better off without the Gothenburg shop. Formerly it was at times dangerous to pass the streets because of drunken men. In the past year I have not seen ten intoxicated in the town. A customer of the shop who had been in the local jail nearly two hundred times before prohibition is now a sober man. Many similar cases can be instanced. Before prohibition one heard of purchasers of drink hanging themselves, shooting themselves, freezing to death. Now there is nothing of the sort. The stream of tramps has dried up en-

tirely. They go direct now between Falun and Hedemora past Skedvi. Crime decreases and the jail is rarely used."

"There is only one thing certain in life," said Stevenson, "and that is failure." But failure is a relative term. Stevenson's "failure" was indeed worthy of the laurel leaf. The "failure of prohibition" is a triumph of the first magnitude besides the best successes of the Gothenburg System. At least that is the honest opinion of one who has lived many years under each system.

From an absolute point of view a law may be said to have "failed" because it is violated when from a practical point of view it is generally satisfactory. And after all if it were not violated there would have been no reason for putting it on the statute books. The King of Korea ordered with an optimism which smacked of opera bouffe the immediate abolition of national vices. The impatient critic of prohibition is just as unreasonable. It takes much time for a vice to disappear which is rooted as deeply in the past as alcoholism is. To a level-headed observer its relative disappearance in northern New England must be a veritable marvel. It is not long as a student of history reckons time since John Boyle was given a license to sell rum on condition that his place be set up near the Second church of Boston for the parishoners' convenience or since Dr. Strong, pastor of the First church, Hartford, himself ran a distillery. This temper prevailed throughout New England. A study

of the records of the little New Hampshire mountain town in which the writer lives was made recently. The pre-prohibition period gave a dreadful picture. More than half of the purchases at the village store were for New England rum. Houses were in disrepair and unpainted; farms were mortgaged and the women supported the families. But under prohibition in 25 summers the writer recalls seeing but one intoxicated person.

Five years ago the state prohibition law gave place to a less satisfactory local prohibition law. Arrests for drunkenness in the state have as a consequence jumped 500 per cent.

Under the Gothenburg System much of the free alcoholism of early New England is still to be seen. People continue "potent in potting." A funeral is still called "a gravöl," "a grave beer" and a baptism "a barsöl," "a child's beer" as in the earlier days the dedication of a church in England was called a "church-ale." One of the speakers in the Stockholm temperance congress of 1902 told of a church dedication in Norway for which 360 bottles of wine and beer were purchased. By evening all were empty. Some of the participants naturally were staggering when they went home. Mr. Isene mentions another church dedication in 1904 at which twenty different toasts were drunk.<sup>(1)</sup> The Swedish Bishop Rhode complains, and it takes much to make a bishop complain about drinking here as else-

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(1) Menneskevennen, 3 March, 09.

where, that the people in a certain region (around Frillesås) "use at weddings, funerals, and on all festival occasions altogether too much hard drink. On market days, too, and at auctions they get drunk with their endless consumption of brandy. This is true, too, of all church festival times,—Easter, Christmas, Pentecost and the like." "It is horrible," he continues, "to see how this spirit-drinking lays waste one home after another. The dreadful consequences of alcohol poisoning hang over the whole nation. Our people are being ruined in body and soul. It breaks down all their defences against inner and outer dangers." (2)

Confirmation time when the young are received into the state church is marked with much social alcoholism. At a great dinner of the northern schools in Christiania in 1905 six hundred bottles of beer and brandy and fifteen hundred of caloric punch were served! Investigations in the public schools of Stockholm have brought to light the fact that not less than 70 per cent of the children over twelve years are accustomed to drink beer in their homes. At festal gatherings for "budeier" or dairy girls, who look after the cows in the high mountains in the summer time, spirits

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(2) In his last book Ossian Nilsson says: "Alcoholism is a marked trait of the whole Swedish people. It takes its victims from all classes, high and low, learned and ignorant, poor and rich. It is the real shadow of barbarism which threatens to stifle our civilization."

are dealt out as a matter of course. And so it goes on all occasions!

Here is a picture of what Anacreon called "Scythian toping" from the west of Norway. Such rioting is of course not common but it is unheard of at least in American prohibition districts. The clipping is cut from "Sondfjord's Avis," a west country paper, (Aug. 1907.)

"On the farm where the marriage took place they let loose the horses in the cultivated fields and meadows. One sensible man shut the cellar where the beer was to prevent further excesses. The door was pried up and lifted off its hinges and thrown down a hill. The beer-kegs were rolled after it when they had been emptied (not on the ground). The host's supplies of salt meat were grabbed as if by pirates. In one beer barrel the contents of which seemed too thin for the doughty drinkers flour was mixed and the resulting paste cast about the walls and ceilings. The conduct of the guests has made the host nearly crazy."

## CHAPTER X.

### "Ended, Not Mended."

The boldest thoughts of the present are the cool reason of the future.—Maeterlinck.

One of the early popes, so the story goes, put out a great fire, (the Incendio del Borgo,) by making the sign of the cross. Something of the same sort the advocates of Gothenburgism attempt to do with the dreadful alcoholist conflagration. They try to exorcise it with pretty devices, they use incantatory phrases such as "disinterested sale," or "pure liquors." With water they will have nothing to do, preferring to throw alcohol (in strictly limited quantities) on the flames. But nothing avails. The fire still rages.

And will so long as alcohol is sold. This is the point on which the System of necessity goes to pieces. Modern investigation has made any compromise impossible. Alcohol in the smallest quantities is a dangerous protoplasmic poison. The best regulated shop which can be imagined will still be a place for the sale of epilepsy, pneumonia, cirrhosis, fatty degenerations, and numberless other diseases. Dr. Brouardel's dictum, "The public house is the purveyor of tuberculosis," is as true of the drink-shops of Stockholm as of those of Paris. Indeed the more orderly and better regulated the shop the more dangerous. Dr. Baer in his chapter on drunkenness in "Die Deut-



sche Klinik am Eingang des Zwanzigstes Jahrhundert" says truly that not poverty nor climate but imitation leads to drinking. If the drinking-place is repulsive normal men and especially women are not likely to enter it. If it is made cosy and refined there is danger that they will and that they in turn will be imitated by others.

The Gothenburg System institutionalises drinking and the drink trade. It has its analogues in the institutionalising of gambling by the German state lotteries, in state regulated prostitution and the like. Such a course gives permanency to the vice. It assures us future generations of alcohol-sick for, as Napoleon shrewdly said, "Institutions fix the destiny of individuals rather than individuals of institutions." The Gothenburg System is an institution for a nation of drinkers. But this is what the American people must not be.

The Gothenburg System has not broken the power of the alcohol capital<sup>(1)</sup> and here lies for Americans

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(1) There are places in Sweden where it would be difficult to find among the official and governing class a single person who is not interested in some brewery. Ministers of state and provincial governors make no bones of leading meetings of brewery directors. Men of science are induced to enter the lists for the mighty beer interest. A well paid staff of publicists trumpet unceasingly the harmlessness and even value of this drink. In fifty years the flood of beer has risen four-fold from 7 liters a head in 1861 to 29 liters in 1905. O. Petersson "Sv. Rusdryckslagstiftningen och Göteborgs-Systemet," p. 71.

the crux of the practical problem. The brewers and distillers find the System a reasonably satisfactory and wholly secure outlet for their products, though they would undoubtedly prefer "the Tartarean drench" of the unrestricted sale prevailing in England. They do not fight the System, however; they fight prohibition.<sup>(1)</sup> The newspapers are their willing servitors and those of the Norwegian Right, for instance, fight their battles with a bitterness and unscrupulousness which equals if not surpasses anything the writer knows of.

The recent incident of the wine treaties is an illustration. The great brandy distillers of Bordeaux and Cognac working through the French government have forced in turn upon the three Scandinavian states commercial agreements reducing the tariffs on wines and brandies. The listing of Scandinavian state loans on the Paris bourse was refused until these

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(1) Now and again the underground workings of the brewers come to light. Here is an example. O. W. Fast-ing, engineer and professor in the technical school in Bergen, and well known as a speaker and writer asked permission from the authorities to leave his post in order to make studies on the temperance question in Norway. The request was granted. He started on a lecture tour in which he praised all "true temperance" work but deprecated the movement toward prohibition. After a little it was discovered that he was highly paid by the Brewers' Association for services rendered. Worse than that it also appeared that he had had part in illegal drink-selling in Bergen. The incidents of the anti-alcohol movement are essentially the same in all countries.

Scharffenberg, "Kampen mod Alkoholen i Norge" p. 15.

concessions were granted to French alcohol producers. But this was not all. Secret clauses (divulged, however, in Norway) were introduced into the treaties the purpose of which was to put a period for all time to the promising prohibition movement in the Scandinavian peninsula. The République, champion of European freedom, at the behest of the alcohol capital interferes in the internal affairs of three smaller nations and attempts to strangle a movement of moral emancipation.

For this national humiliation certain elements in Norway were in all probability responsible as well. There can be little doubt that the alcohol capital in the North cooperated with that of France if it did not instigate the whole proceeding. The Christiania newspapers prepared the way for the **coup** by bullying and threatening the temperance party and by frightening the public with the terror of an additional one-half per cent on an hypothek loan of 25 million kroner which subscription in London rather than in Paris would entail. Their tactics were successful.<sup>(2)</sup>

Of course, the Gothenburg System was not responsible for this. But it has not made impossible such interference in legislation by the alcohol capital. It has not emancipated the press from its alcohol servitude. Further, the moral sympathy of its directors

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(2) Astonishing as it may seem the temperance party in the Storting were cowed into accepting the bitter treaty. Only the twelve socialist members stood out for Norwegian independence and the cause of morality. All honor to them!

has been, if there has been no active co-operation in this crisis, with the militant alcohol interests.

Finland has had its Gothenburg System as well as Norway and Sweden. But Finland by the nearly unanimous vote of its legislature repudiated it in favor of a drastic national prohibitory law. Such action after many years of the System is no recommendation in its favor. In Norway and Sweden the temperance party is committed to the same policy. In Sweden, to be sure, the conservative upper house of the Riksdag threw out legislation passed by the lower house which provided for local option terminating in national prohibition in 20 years. But this is merely a preliminary skirmish. Iceland and the Faroes in reforming their excise system passed by the Gothenburg plan and adopted prohibition. Most significant of all is it that the national commission appointed by the Danish Riksdag to draft the whole matter of new alcohol legislation for Denmark should take up an attitude of cold neutrality towards the Gothenburg System, laying the emphasis for reform on local option. All over Scandinavia, in fact, they are preparing to disprove Montesquieu's saying that "Northerners cannot get along without spirits."

And yet there are good folk in America who would have us take up with this thread-bare, cast-off institution. Standardized opinion in our richer Eastern universities generally favors it. Certain clerics among them the rector of St. Paul at Three Taverns and the clergy of the Church of St. George and the Flagon are

enthusiasts for it. New York club men who have visited the fjords also believe it to be "the best solution of the problem" as do various delightful Boston ladies who have made their studies of the alcohol question in the cathedrals and picture galleries of Europe. Then there are the representatives of the alcohol Kismet, fatalists of the saloon, people that protest that because we always have had drink-shops we must always have them and that we should therefore have the best type obtainable. These are as Prof. Forel intimates, minds caught in contemporary modes of thinking which cannot save with great effort of imagination or without personal experience visualise the developments of the future.

Now in the first place with these dilettante reformers as a storming column would there be any hope of obtaining the Gothenburg System against a powerfully intrenched alcohol capital? Not a bit. It would be like expecting a triumph of Icelandic arms over Prussian.

These excellent people who, one is sometimes tempted to think, imagine themselves the wise spoken of in the proverb whose mission it is to correct the mistakes of the good, will of themselves never be able to foist the System upon us. The real danger is lest they climb to success on the shoulders of the fighting prohibitionists and in that way retard or sterilize an impending prohibition victory. When state after state has adopted prohibition, when federal interstate legislation has made possible its rigid enforcement, when

the congressional representation of prohibition states now in the majority begins to reach forward to complete and final victory, then we are likely to hear much about the System. The brewers who have opposed it hitherto will now look upon it as the last possible vaccine against the "dry" plague. Side by side with them will fight the mass of what Dr. Koppe<sup>(1)</sup> calls "Alkoholophags," those anti-social epicures who refuse to surrender for the common weal any table pleasure however injurious to themselves. When to these elements are joined the numberless slow men who dislike the quick and thorough methods of political idealism the danger time will have come for the prohibition movement.<sup>(2)</sup> The Russian novelist Garschin has written a parable of a palm in a hot house which strove to reach the sun and grew passionately to that end. Finally it touched the top and broke through the glass roof only to freeze and die in the raw air outside.

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(1) In his brilliant essay "Das Alkoholsiechtum und die Kurzlebikkeit des modernen Menschengeschlechts," p. 34, an essay of almost sibylline power that should be solemnly pondered by all who would see the civilized races saved from ruin.

(2) At the date of writing we have an example of this danger. By the county option law a large part of Oregon is cleared of drinksellers. The prohibitionists now are planning to obtain a state law by means of the initiative. The Gothenburg System for Portland is offered as a counter proposal with a guarantee of ten years undisturbed existence. At the end of that time the brewers would hope for a return of private or rather brewery-mortgaged sale again.

But prohibitionists must see to it that their powerful social reform does not meet a similar fate in any atmosphere of specious compromise.

For we are as yet hardly able to realize how immensely weighty this great reform is. That will come only when a couple of generations shall have passed after its triumph and its full economic and hygienic effect shall have begun to be visible. Lecky remarked that the habit of gin drinking which came from the Netherlands with the English soldiery as leprosy 'from the East with the Crusaders was the most momentous fact in 18th century English history, — incomparably more momentous than anything in the political or military annals of the country. Dr. Bresler, the editor of the "Internationale Psychiatrisch - neurologische Wochenschrift" gives the movement against alcohol an equally significant place in contemporary history. In his essay "Alkohol auch in geringen Mengen Gift" (p. 6) he says. "After some decades of toilsome investigation men of science, especially physiologists and psychologists, have, thanks to the exact methods employed, come to the positive, irrefutable result that alcohol is under all circumstances, in small as well as in great quantities, a poison for the body. This knowledge will have for civilization an importance equal to the discovery of micro-organisms, indeed an incomparably greater importance, since in spite of our knowledge of bacteria we stand at present practically powerless against them, which is not the case with alcohol poison. I do not hesitate to put this

revolution of opinion as to alcohol on a higher plane of importance than that which the Reformation occupies in the minds of Protestants."

The truth of these words makes it not only unwise to stop at any compromise, but also impossible. The war on the Welt-Narkotikum has already attained a momentum too great to be halted at this point by any armistice. The idea of prohibition is in itself intrinsically reasonable. Peoples' minds are beginning to get accustomed to it. There is a tremendous power of mass suggestion in the continuous statement of a clear-cut, radical principle. Year after year Mr. Villiers made in the House of Commons his motion for "Total and Immediate Repeal." At first he was ridiculed as an impossible idealist, then bitterly fought. At last however reluctant opponents turned to advocates and champions. The battle against license laws which prohibitionists have fought so unwaveringly will end like that against the corn-laws. Already there are many signs that "the might," to use Boerne's phrase, "is being mobilized behind the right." The action of American railroads, the weight of business interests, the moral enthusiasm of the Christian church, the proofs of European scientific research, the sympathies of social democracy—all these are being thrown in the scale for prohibition. Even the politicians are beginning to line up with us. Hitherto they have been in America mortally afraid of offending the politico-alcohol interest. They have acted for a generation as the mandarins of Moukden who shifted the railway for



fear lest the sleeper spikes should strike into the vertebrae of the underground dragon which encircles the city. Now they are waking up to the fact that the alcohol dragon is less to be feared than the resolute multitudes that are out after its hide. This marks the beginning of the end.

A gifted student<sup>(1)</sup> of history writing of America's rôle in the modern world has said:

"In the eighteenth century the fundamental new beginnings the race had made on the other side of the Atlantic had an incalculable effect on the thought of Europe. When the incubus of ancient institutions, feudal monarchies, hereditary privileges, and a persecuting church, seemed intolerable it was perhaps mainly the spectacle of America that encouraged Europeans."<sup>(1)</sup>

The great growth of American wealth and its concentration in the hands of the unscrupulous and frivolous have put us for the time being out of the place of leadership. But a new opportunity is on us. While France is not only herself heading straight to the pit of absinthe, but using her politico-financial power to bind the Scandinavian states in the chain of alcoholism, while England stands helpless before an impassable wall,—malt-lords, land-lords and "lords spiritous" having thrown out with scorn the bill of 1908, while Russia is saturated, Germany saturated, Belgium supersaturated, we in America stand face to

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(1) Prof. J. R. Seelye, "Growth of British Policy."

face with an opportunity which ought to put us in the forefront of moral civilization and with it of national power. In 1910 it really looks as if the people had the poison capital in a corner and a clutch on its throat. Certainly nothing would hearten the brave anti-alcohol party in Europe more than a complete triumph of their ideas in America. And that lies within the range of possibility.

At this favorable conjuncture prohibition would be far more easily obtained than any wide application of compromise plans such as the Gothenburg System represents. Its advocates have but to strike at the manufacture through the national congress to paralyze the whole business. The sale, illegal as well as legal, would then dry up of itself. Here are the steps:

1st. Combined with the widest application of the local option principle a national control of the manufacture preliminary to its extinction. This to consist of two features:

a. Federal excise officials to keep accurate records of all shipments. If any are made to prohibitory areas, directly or indirectly, the brewery or distillery to lose its right of manufacture.

b. Interstate use of the railroads refused to the manufacturers of alcoholic beverages. Each state to manufacture its own poison.

This would make local option and state prohibition automatically self-enforcing and would lead later to

2. A national law prohibiting the manufacture and sale.

Lastly to make any ideal reform effective a better type of executive is required in our municipalities. The condition precedent to this is an electorate enlarged in one direction, purged in another. Womens' political emancipation will have an immediate moralizing effect on the political life of the nation. Side by side with this should go a disenfranchisement of the criminal classes. On the European continent the general practice in passing judgment on a criminal is to fine or imprison **with the temporary loss of civil rights**. The introduction of this practice into the United States would give a tremendous uplift to all strivings for social improvement and political honesty. We would suggest:

1. That all who are convicted of buying or selling votes lose the right of voting permanently.

2. That all convicted of criminal offenses lose the suffrage temporarily—for five or eight or ten years, according to the gravity of the offense.

3. That as long as licenses are given for selling drink, holders of such licenses should besides paying the usual license fees lose civil rights until the license lapses. This would make the seller more than ever a pariah and cut out his malign influence from our political life.

Such legislation would not be difficult to obtain in those states which have the initiative and referendum. It would not be impossible to obtain in very many other states. Its effect would be twofold,—first to remove the entire criminal and drinkselling class from

political life; secondly to stiffen immensely the political independence and to improve the moral quality of our local administrators. And this it is which is chiefly needed to make prohibition a complete success.

By working along some such lines the American people will be able to light a beacon for the alcohol-sick nations. But to attempt to set it ablaze with the System would be like trying, in Walpole's words, "to light a fire with a wet dish-clout."\*

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I am writing these concluding sentences in one of the high valleys of Norway with a noble landscape all about. It has been raining heavily for several hours, but the clouds have now lifted. I noticed some minutes ago a black spot on the green hill-side a half-mile away and asked a servant what it was.

"A man, apparently," came the reply.

"What! and lying out in this drenching rain?"

"Yes, he came up from Lillehammer (where the nearest Samlag is located), stumbled off the train and has been flat on his face ever since."

How many such black blotches has this particular Samlag cast out today, I wonder?

I pick up a Christiania daily for relief. The first thing that attracts my attention is an account of a drunken woman's arrest. "It took two policemen to handle her" wrote the reporter. "She had in her arms a child wholly naked."

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\* The rapid extension of the initiative and referendum will put a weapon of incomparable effectiveness into the

hands of American anti-alcoholists. But it must be used with more regard to strategic considerations than in the ill-fated 'all or nothing' Missouri campaign of 1910.

The great difficulty of making the transition from local option to state prohibition in three-fourths of the states of the Union is the presence in each of these states of one or two large cities where the law against sale would probably be to a greater or less degree nullified. The strength of the drink-shop in these centres rests in the backing of the brewery which owns it and which by political and financial connections is able to protect it from the law officers.

In view of this situation it is a question whether the attack should not be made primarily on the alcohol capital, the sale in the great centres being for the moment disregarded. County option in many states has cleared the drink-shop out of the country and smaller towns and has given the temperance party a hold on state legislatures. If to county option as to sale were coupled state prohibition of the manufacture, the way would be cleared for a successful treatment of the saloon in the cities.

Such a plan should however be a concerted one. We would suggest the simultaneous year-after-year introduction of prohibition of manufacture laws into all the legislatures. Secondly the annual placing of a prohibition of manufacture proposal before the people of the referendum states. Thousands of conservative temperance men who would balk at the idea of putting Louisville or St. Louis or Baltimore or Boston under a general prohibition law would gladly vote for the closing down of the manufacture in their respective states—especially if they knew it to be part of a concerted national movement to this end. The ancient ungrammatical argument, "prohibition don't prohibit," would have no cogency here for the federal government remorselessly crushes out small illegal distilling and the great brewers would never risk the confiscation of their plants by violating such a law. This plan carried on year after year until it had generally succeeded

would keep the agitation at white heat. Its success in a half dozen states where the manufacture is largely concentrated would paralyze the national drink interests. It is a policy, too, on which temperance radicals who think local option "too local and too optional" could join with temperance conservatives who look upon state prohibition of sale as premature. The referendum would enable us to keep at it until we won.

In view of the strong pro-prohibition decisions of the supreme court it is doubtful if any objection to this policy of prohibition by piecemeal would be raised in the courts. The brewers have declared with characteristic impudence in their official organ that they "will sell beer wherever the profits are greater than the risks" and have boasted again and again that they have broken down local option laws. Their suppression therefore could be defended before the courts as a necessary law enforcement measure. It should not to be forgotten, either, in this connection that the modern alcohol investigation has deprived the brewery of its single possible justification as supplying a legitimate demand for limited use. The old 'moderation' argument is knocked in the head for ever. The brewery consequently stands naked and bare as an unmitigated nuisance. Court decisions taking this fact into consideration can hardly be more lenient than in the past.

## APPENDIX.

### Prohibition During the Swedish General Strike of 1909.

October 1, 1909.

The death warrant for the Gothenburg System is out at last. "Since the abolition of home distilleries in 1855," says "Verdandisten," "no event in the Swedish temperance movement has been so important as the five weeks of prohibition during the general strike of 1909."

The French make a distinction between "reforms" and "reformettes." If the Gothenburg System is not a positively evil thing as the writer believes it to be, the best that can be said of it is that it belongs in the latter category.

But prohibition is a reform of the first magnitude, of the profoundest beneficence, and no more cogent evidence of the fact has ever accumulated than that which the weeks of the Swedish strike have given the world.

The saloon is usually the best strike-breaker. It reduces the strikers' resources and discredits his cause with riot and disorder. It was therefore a surprise to many that the Swedish government should have taken the precaution to close the drink shops when the general strike broke out. The probable explanation lies in the fact that distinctly anarchistic elements smoulder in the left wing of the Swedish

socialist party. The dynamite at Malmö, the agitation of Hinke Bergegren, above all the recent assassination of Gen. Beckmann in Kungstragården, warned "the upper classes" that it were best for the time being to dispense with alcohol.

"As long as only the women and children of drunkards were hammered," remarked a laborer, "they shrugged their shoulders. When their own hides were threatened the drinkshops quickly closed."

The results were immediate. Drunkenness disappeared as by magic. The Swedish papers read like a supplementary chapter in "Looking Backward." "It seems incredible," writes the "Karlstad Tidning"—"almost unreal! For eight days the jail has stood empty. It is as if one had moved to a Karlstad of later centuries when the fancies of the temperance party had at last realized themselves." "An intoxicated person," says Söderhamns Tidning, "appeared Friday on the streets. The unusual sight occasioned general remark and he was stared at as if he were a strange animal. The man himself appeared embarrassed at the general attention he received." And "Svenska Dagbladet," Sweden's premier newspaper, in the same vein under the caption, "A Strange Occurrence," says: "At the Katrina (Stockholm) station a man was brought in drunk. He is the second since prohibition went into effect three weeks before."

Dr. Ivan Bratt writing in "Dagens Nyheter" (neither writer nor paper are prohibitionist) says: "When one goes through the streets of Stockholm



one would think one in another country. Our infallible national symbols, unsteady gait and resounding oaths, are no longer perceived. The police have nothing to do and the court average of fifty drunks a day has sunk to just one! One knows oneself no longer! One asks, Can it go on so? These two weeks have brought much water to the prohibitionist mill."

After two days of prohibition "Göteborgs "Handels-Tidning," the great paper of west Sweden, remarked: "The most striking thing thus far has been the complete absence of drunkenness. The contrast in Järntorget (in Gothenburg) before and after the enactment of prohibition has been unmistakeable. Saturday, Sunday and Monday evenings the section swarmed with people in a greater or less degree intoxicated. The day following one looked in vain for such. The police gave the same testimony. In three police districts not an arrest was made and in the fourth but one." "Göteborgs-Posten" adds, "Only ten drunks during fifteen days of the strike. Twenty-five a day is a common thing when the drinkshops are open. In the Haga district instead of the usual eight or ten only one person is in jail. The chief of police says that in 22 years he never experienced anything like this."

"Aftonbladet" (Stockholm): "Thanks to prohibition only one person last night in the whole city was arrested. Such a thing never happened before." "Svenska Morgenbladet:" "Thousands are idle on the streets, yet not a single arrest for drunkenness was

made yesterday." "Dagbladet:" "Stockholmers are astonished to find that punch and grog play a less important rôle in their life than they had supposed." "Dagens Nyheter:" "People sit quietly in the pool rooms drinking coffee and lemonade. One can go from one end of the city to the other without seeing a sign of an intoxicated person. At Jakob (parish) police-station no arrests; Maria, none; Johannes, none; Kungsholm, only one; Katrina, one. Such model conduct the police of the last named parish hardly ever saw. One realizes that under such a system the Swedish people can really be admirable and not ill-tempered as so often."

From the provincial cities came the same story. "Norrköpings-Tidning" writes: "Near the post-office was a solitary policeman. When we accosted him he seemed like one awakened out of a stupor of astonishment at the admirable conduct of people. 'That is because they can get no alcohol. See how quiet it is. Usually in the evenings one constantly sees men in a more or less advanced stage of intoxication collected on the street corners, swearing and quarreling and fighting. Now we have nothing to do and since Tuesday the jail has been empty. One could wish the strike could go on forever. At least one can realize the blessings of prohibition. It ought to be permanent. The community would then be spared trouble, misery and poverty.'"

"Nerikes Tidning:" "From July 30 to August 26, about one month, only nine persons have been ar-

rested in Örebro, none of them for drunkenness. In the same period 1908, 92 persons were arrested, of whom 80 were for drunkenness. Between the 2nd and 29th of July, the month preceding prohibition, 100 arrests were made, 84 of which were for drunkenness. What do these figures say? They cry out 'away with drink.'"

"Eskilstuna Kuriren:": "Thanks to prohibition not a single arrest for drunkenness has taken place in the city (Eskilstuna is a steel manufacturing center.) The jail is empty save for two tramps who had no place to lodge."

"Arboga Tidning:": "Only one intoxicated person has been seen since the strike began." "In five weeks," comes the report from Hudviksvall, "only one person before the court for drunkenness. Usually we have very many every Monday morning."

But there was further a sympathetic fall in arrests for other crimes.\* The Sollefteå police report for

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\*Dr. Blocher of Basel, who was on the ground at the time, calls attention to this parallel decline in general criminality. The whole number of crimes registered in the Stockholm police court in August 1908 (drunkenness being excluded from consideration) was 530; in August 1909, 268. Of thefts 412 and 196 respectively. Increased security of property in spite of increased insecurity in social conditions and in spite of rising economic need.

Internat. Monatschrift zur Erforschung des Alkoholismus. Dec. 1909, pp. 454-456.

The prohibition days of the Finnish general strike in 1905 were marked by the same absence of crime. Dr. Helenius

August recorded not an arrest for ordinary crime, but three for violation of prohibition. The preceding month there were 42 arrests for drunkenness and 20 for other crimes. August 26, "National Kuriren" reported that "the Gothenburg police court of the preceding week had but one case to try. This was the minimum record in the court's history." Of the Stockholm police court "Svenska Morgenbladet" remarked (16th August): "An exceptionally short session, Saturday, in the police court. There were nine persons charged and the court closed in 20 minutes. The most of these committed their offenses before the strike began. The usual number of criminals dealt with runs up to a hundred."

In Norrköping the public prosecutor received on the 7th of September, a pair of white gloves from the

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says of Helsingfors: "During the whole strike week there was but one single drunk person who had to be lodged in the police station. There was not a single case of theft, not a single fight, not a single instance of coarse conduct, although the whole city every night was veiled in complete darkness and during many nights and days there was not a single policeman in service. And what was more important, in spite of the restlessness and discord between the parties not a drop of blood was shed during the whole strike. The result of this experience was an almost unanimous adoption of a prohibition law in 1907. When the news of its passage came a general illumination took place throughout the country. In many places schools were closed, thanksgiving services were held in the churches and popular festivals instituted everywhere."

Internat. Monatschrift, April, 1910, p. 106.

judge (a symbol of a clean court). Not a case was reported, a thing which had not happened for twenty-eight years. And from the newspaper of little Sigtuna we get this:—"It has been so calm and peaceful here since Swedish potato water (i. e. spirits) was put under lock and key that one could think Sigtuna a garden of the Lord."

The temperance paper "National Kuriren" of Gothenburg is wont to publish weekly, a column in which are collected the week's crimes, accidents, deaths and the like to the credit of the Gothenburg System drinkshops. It is a striking fact that during the five weeks of prohibition this column disappeared altogether from its accustomed place. There was simply no material to fill it.

A writer in "Stockholms Tidning" says:—"My own conviction is that prohibition has been the keeper of the peace (it must be always remembered that 200,000 angry men were out on strike in all the Swedish towns and cities) in a far greater degree than police and military. All are delighted with it especially the wives of workingmen. 'This is the best of all,' they say. 'Would that the drinkshops never opened again.'" And in the same strain a reporter quoted in "Verdandisten" remarked:—"A wife of a day laborer said to me 'Such a blessed strike! May it go on forever! I have not been so happy since I was married. I always trembled when my man came home lest he strike me or the children. Now I have no anxiety; whether he come early or late he is always sober and the kindest man in the world.'

That was her little temperance speech and who could want a better?"

"The animals, too, if they were not like the women without the franchise would doubtless vote 'dry' with the women. A correspondent in 'Nerikes Tidning' writes:—'We get a very good impression from the people who come driving back from Örebro on our roads in the evenings nowadays. Before the strike they drove furiously, whipping their horses unmercifully. Now the same persons come at a reasonable pace without torturing their horses. What has made the difference? Prohibition.'"

Some of the good things which a longer period of prohibition would undoubtedly bring are suggested by the two following notes.

"Sundsvalls Posten" (Sep. 14) under the heading, "Poverty and the Great Strike," remarks: "The guardians of the poor of this city were astonishingly little affected by the strike. Even now after its close the number of applicants for help is considerably less than last year when conditions were normal. It has not been so quiet at the relief bureau for a long time. This is chiefly due to prohibition. Money has gone for food and clothes. Many poor families in this strike time have clothed their children as they were unable to do when their men were working."

And this, which may be merely coincidental, is nevertheless interesting. "The mortality in Stockholm during the first week of the strike (Aug. 8-14) has been the lowest in the history of the city—8.7 per

thousand. The average for the same week in the past ten years has been 13.4 per thousand."

"Sweden is the Eldorado of temperance," writes one. "The French and English correspondents who come here to find 'copy' during the great strike are in desperation over the universal quiet. 'How shall I interest my dear Parisians?' exclaimed Mons. Sestédtt of the sensational 'Matin.' That this was the fruit of prohibition a telegram in 'Stockholm's Tidning' clearly indicates. It was from Helsingör (the Elsinore of Hamlet) a city in Denmark a short ferry-ride from the Swedish Helsingborg. "The city with its open drink-shops has a singular appearance. Great numbers of drunken Swedes are to be seen, strikers who have come over from Helsingborg to quench their thirst. The steamer crossing gives the same picture. The magistrates of the Swedish city have requested those of the Danish city to shut their drink-shops during the strike. "

The statistic of alcohol taxes gives the reason for the sudden and extraordinary social improvement indicated in the above notes. During the month of prohibition the state's share of the usual Bolag spoil shrank something like two and a half million kroner. The official report of the strike estimates that the entire saving to the Swedish people during the prohibition weeks amounted to about twelve million kroner. For five weeks at least the Swedish proletariat escaped the crushing economic burden which the System lays on their shoulders.\*

"Our experience of prohibition," says the "Borås Dagblad" has proved once for all:

"That the cry about substitute drinks in a prohibition community (denatured spirits and the like) is a false one.

"That illicit sale under prohibition is a mere bagatelle compared with the legal sale.

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\* Redogorelse för lockouterna och storstreiken i Sverige år 1909. Arbetsstatistik. A, 9. On page 223 it is remarked that "this saving helped the strikers measurably in holding out as long as they did."

But this is not the only way in which alcohol is revealed as a potent weapon with which to exploit the proletariat. In a well-known passage in "Das Judenthum in Gegenwart und Zukunft" Eduard von Hartmann remarks that "the checking by legislative means of national drunkenness (in Germany) would enable our people in a single generation to compete with the temperate Jews. These propositions are fought by the Jews not because they are eo ipso anti-Jewish but because they would limit the fields of Jewish parasitism." We have called attention to the active leadership which Lord Rothschild has taken in the fight against restrictive legislation in England. The Judeo-capitalist press is constantly launching rumors of war and embittering the nations against each other. Armaments mean loans; war means the destruction of capital, the rising of rates and the tightening of the control of the international money market in a few hands. But the mass consumption of alcoholica acts as an incessant and destructive war. One can imagine the tremendous cheapening of capital which would result from a few years of prohibition in the United States not to speak of the world at large. It is not hard to understand therefore why there is so much solicitude about "the poor man's beer" in certain quarters.



"That the temperance fanatics are right in their contention that drink causes practically all offences against public order.

"That citizens almost without exception accept loyally the prohibition enactment.

"That drunkenness disappears so that a reeling person becomes a matter of remark."

And the "Handels-Tidning" of Gothenburg (a paper of the standing of the "New York Tribune") expresses a wish "that the remarkable prohibition experiment with its admirable results in lowering crime to an unprecedented point, drunkenness practically disappearing altogether, be continued some weeks after the strike closes. Its good results have been unmistakable. The violations of law which are generally predicted under a prohibitory régime have not occurred to any noticeable extent. As was to be foreseen the Swedish apothecaries are of too high a standing to engage, as American druggists do in illegal sale and the Swedish police government too strong and too little accessible to lawless influences to be befooled in its execution of the law. It has been now experimentally demonstrated that at least local option prohibition could be introduced to the great advantage of society."

Other papers express the same opinion. "Östgoten" of Linköping says:—"Now that the great blessing of prohibition has been proved it were desirable that it never be taken from us. We no longer see on the streets poor creatures lowered by drink to beasts. The police are saved trouble, the state needs no longer to

support drunkards in prisons and these latter have their money in their pockets. How happy a thing if this could go on forever."

And again (Aug. 27):—"As a result of experimental trial the shortest and easiest way to the permanent adoption of prohibition must be considered as an extremely suitable and attractive proposition. All doubts as to its desirability are now done away with for good and with them the chief hinderance to the realization of this great idea."

The great change of sentiment in regard to prohibition has been reflected not merely by the press. The socialist temperance lodges report unusually large accessions as a result of the educating influence of the prohibition period. Great demonstrations in favor of permanent prohibition have taken place. We note among others, those in Östersund (2,000 people), Skara (2,500), Mora (2,000), Linköping (2,000), Örebro (1,000), Gävle (3,000 strikers), Trelleborg (1,500), Norrköping (4,000), Halmstad (1,500), Gothenburg (1,500), Sollefteå (700), etc., etc. Most extraordinary of all is the fact that the state churches have been opened to prohibition meetings. The Swedish state church has in the past been as little accessible to moral movements as state churches elsewhere. Yet meetings in demand of continued prohibition have been held in e. g. Hernösand Cathedral, in Hedvig Kyrka in Norrköping, in Kopparbarg, Hjo, Karlstad (cathedral), in Askersand and the other parishes of Strängnäs, in Holm, Skallerud, Rising, etc., etc. In Luleå

prohibition demonstrations have been held in twelve parish churches.

The most significant of all these prohibition meetings, however, has been that of 25,000 strikers at Hornsbärgshäga (just out of Stockholm) which declared unanimously for prohibition. This was no piece of momentary enthusiasm. It was preceded by two sessions of the entire leadership of the Stockholm Trades Unions at which the whole subject was carefully considered from every point of view.

The manifesto put forth was adopted later at other strike meetings all over Sweden. It practically commits Swedish organized labor to prohibition and is a veritable Declaration of Independence. It reads in part as follows:

"The immediate, magnificent and to many unexpected results of this provisional and incomplete prohibitory enactment have astonished the world. Drunkenness has ceased and with it the accidents and crimes which are a consequence of drunkenness. The drink-seller's till which hitherto has been filled with the money of poor men is empty.

"Shall this attractive picture fade away? Will Swedish working people allow without protest the alcohol capital again to throw its octopus arms around ten thousands of Swedish fellow citizens? Will they consent that thousands of Swedish men and women be sacrificed on the altar of the Alcohol Moloch,—that Swedish working people be plundered in the future as in the past of 100 million kroner yearly, that

society through this legalized drink trade hold the proletariat down in ignorance, poverty, and social-political weakness?

"Or is it not rather right that just in these days when the entire working class of Sweden stands in battle line that we declare we will no longer tolerate a business of which the chief purpose is the ruin of the workers. The results of such a declaration may not be immediate legislative action, but a united demonstration on the part of the entire working class will certainly reach all ears and be effective in many ways.

"The Finnish people, Iceland, and nine of the United States have already stamped the drink business as a social enemy. It is now the proud duty of the Swedish workmen to put themselves at the head of this world emancipating movement. In so doing they will at this historic moment write one of the noblest pages in Swedish history and will earn the blessing of succeeding generations.

"Comrades, let us drop all unnecessary discussion. Let us rally to the great task of our emancipation. The way to this emancipation goes through drink prohibition, effective and permanent. Forward to this end in all parts of Sweden."

Papers and people, trades unions and churches all over the land asked for a continuance of the prohibition arrangement at least until the depleting effects of the economic struggle were in some degree repaired.

A delegation even besought the king to use his influence to this end.

All in vain. The friends of the System in the administration, in "the trade," in the circles of the rich bourgeoisie and aristocracy hurried to open up again lest their profit-bringing, tax-paying institution should be doomed forever. But re-opening only added further proof of the enormous superiority of the Reform over the Reformette. It was the end of a good dream, Tinker Sly coming back to hard, gray reality—this return to "normal conditions."

"Svenska Morgenbladet," the second day after the re-opening of the alcohol saison in Stockholm, reports: "The cessation of prohibition soon made itself felt. The number of arrests has jumped fifteen fold." Gothenburg's "Handels Tidning" gave the police report for Gothenburg as follows:

"August, 1908, 647 arrests for drunkenness.

August, 1909, 113 arrests for drunkenness.

September 1-7, 1909, 3 arrests.

September 8-19, 1909, 259 arrests."

"Örnskiöldsviks Allehanda," describing the situation in its little town during prohibition said:—"It has hardly ever before been so peaceful here. The military sent to keep order has had nothing to do except to look after itself. The cause of all this is the new prohibition order. Not a person in jail since its adoption."

The same paper writing on the day following re-opening said:—"Within two hours after prohibition ceased the Company shop had taken in 700 kroner and the jail opened for five disorderlies."

Enköping reopens its drink-shop. The next day three young men are taken to the empty jail.

Ulricehamn: "All was quiet and still during the prohibition weeks. Yesterday the saloons re-opened and at night there were nine drunks in jail."

In Lund the first day of opening 20 drunks! The police declared that on this day they had more to do than during the five strike weeks. In Gothenburg according to "Göteborgs-Posten," "the police have rarely seen so much drunkenness. Persons were taken to jail so drunk that on the following day only were they able to give their names." On the single first day the System shops opened in Gothenburg there were 53 drunks! In prohibition August there were but 113, most of which were to be set down to the first three days when the System's shops were running. In Örebro when the drink-shops were opened up the wage-workers of the city petitioned the magistrates not to allow the System's agents to send drink on order into homes. The magistracy refused! In this city according to "Nerikes Tidning" there were in 1908, 127 persons arrested in the weeks corresponding to the strike period of 1909. In the 1909 strike week there were but 19 arrests brought before the court. On the first day of the System's re-opening eleven drunks were lodged in jail and one case of delirium tremens reported.

The usual crop of accidents followed in the wake of the System's renewal of activity. "Göteborgs Posten" recounts them. An intoxicated man tumbles off

Stora-Otterhallen (a high place in Gothenburg) and is found dead later. A laborer is discovered dead in a flat boat in Barnhusviken (cause alcohol poisoning). A serious railway accident near Malmö:—cause, drunken engineer, etc. \*

But the friends of the System simply will not see it. After the strike was declared off a meeting was held of the Stockholm city council to consider the need

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\* From an interview with a Salvation Slum Sister.

"The women of the poor were delighted. Men who formerly were wont to be at home neither night nor day and when they did come were such a terror to wife and children that these were forced to flee to neighbors were absolutely changed persons under prohibition. When they went off with their families on excursions in the woods about Stockholm in strike days the children could hardly realize that these were their own fathers."

When asked if the reopening of the System's man-traps had made itself felt in her work, she replied, "Yes,"—that several cases of fathers' taking and selling children's clothes for drink had come to her ears. One woman for whom the slum sister had received a warm dress did not dare to wear it but had had it locked up in a neighbor's closet. Her husband had struck and abused her in order to get it to sell. During the strike much clothing had gone through her hands for strikers' families. Since the System's shops had reopened there were many reports of the pawning of these things by drunken fathers.

One case mentioned was especially interesting. A country laborer having saved a little money took a trip to Stockholm during the first week of the strike to "blow it in." But when he got to the city he found that the Gothenburg shops were all closed. At first he hardly knew what to do. Then the

of employing thirty new policemen (at a yearly cost of 16,000 kroner) within the city limits. Friherr Palmstierna arose and suggested that the cheaper and more effective method for preserving order would be, as the past weeks had shown, to keep the Gothenburg System shops sealed tight. "Instead of this the city government had let loose the drink-flood again and the old sights of reeling men and women on the way to pawnshop, drink-shop, prison and asylum met the eye once more."

And the directors of the drink companies have they learned anything from this experiment? Have they made any correction or improvement or innovation in their administration?

Yes, they have done one thing. The Stockholm management has permanently discharged the 150 men who went out in the general strike and has filled their places with women. I do not know whether this help is cheaper or not. It usually is. It is certain to be more docile.

As to the hygienic and moral effects of the atmosphere of the poison-shops on the women, the directors apparently have little or no concern.

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idea struck him of buying new clothes and a pair of shoes. After this he went to the Salvation Army restaurant to get dinner.

He told his story and what a new experience it was to have new shoes on his feet. The like had not happened for years. He had fifteen kroner in his pocket, too!"



June 1st, 1910.

"The present state of things," writes a leading Swedish physician, "is degrading and decivilising our people. The blood-letting which comes from the great emigration takes our best from us. But what is that besides the injury which the blood-poisoning of those who remain, causes?"

He may well say it. Under the Gothenburg System in 1909 every tenth man in Stockholm between the ages of 18 and 60 was arrested for drunkenness. "The police generally have a stiff job to keep order," wrote a Stockholm policeman at the end of the August days. "It is impossible to arrest all of the intoxicated for we should have no place to lodge them. Those we do take must often be dragged station-ward in the most repulsive way and in their cells their action is that of beasts. But during the prohibition days of August, 1909, there were in Stockholm but sixteen arrests for drunkenness as against 1,545 in August, 1908." \*

That single statistic has been a clarion call to the

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\* There were actually 168 arrests for drunkenness in August, 1909 but 152 of them fell on the first three days before the drinkshops were closed. The 28 prohibition days registered but 16. For all Sweden the arrests for drunkenness in August 1908 were 5,612; for August 1909, 1,244. But if the arrests for drunkenness for the first three days of August throughout Sweden were as relatively numerous as in Stockholm, and this is probable, nine-tenths of the arrests for August, 1909 would have occurred on these three drinking days.

Swedish people and they have answered to it. The "classes," with indecent haste, started the Bolag on its destructive mission again but the nation has protested magnificently against its continued existence. Within six weeks after re-opening, a plébiscite was started on the question of prohibition. Not since the Temporal Power was voted away in 1870 has any institution received a more crushing popular condemnation than has befallen the Gothenburg System.

The burden of organizing a non-official vote has been no inconsiderable one. Electoral machinery for a whole nation had to be improvised. But the half million members of Swedish temperance organizations have come up admirably to their task.

The declaration to which the public was asked to set its name was as follows:

"We, the undersigned Swedish men and women, realizing the injury to public health and social progress which intoxicants cause, declare it to be our opinion that the time has fully come to take the first steps in the direction of complete and permanent prohibition of their sale in our land."

To this formula was added a short historical survey. "The greater part of the country districts are already under prohibition. The national legislature has repeatedly commended local option and in 1907 passed legislation (defeated however by the upper house) for national prohibition of the sale of spirits. Just recently his Majesty's government has set a commission to consider measures for re-adjustment of tax-

ation in case prohibition become the law of the land. The extraordinarily beneficent results of the five weeks provisional prohibition of this summer are pointed to as an earnest of what a permanent adoption of that policy would mean."

And the result of the referendum?

Gothenburg's "Handels-Tidning" declares it the most powerful expression of public opinion which has ever come through private initiative in any land. The great 'extension-of-suffrage' petition of 1907 numbered 350,000 names. But the prohibition petition sums up nearly six times as many. The Finnish national protest of 1899 which was considered an extraordinary fighting demonstration does not compare with the Swedish prohibition one, even relatively. The economic resources for the work were wholly insufficient but thousands of volunteers made up for shortage of money.

The Central Statistical Bureau places the whole number of persons in Sweden above eighteen years at 3,387,964. Of these one and one quarter million have not been reached by the registration. It is not improbable that in this category there may be a somewhat larger contingent of the indifferent and hostile but there is no reason to believe that it would be proportionately greatly larger. Of the whole number reached 1,878,519 voted for prohibition. This is 55 per cent of the entire grown population. 16,613 voted against—one-half of one per cent of the adult population. More than one and one-half million persons above eighteen

years of age who are outside of all temperance organizations have declared themselves prohibitionists. In sixty-three Swedish cities excluding Stockholm with a total population of 400,000 over 18 years, 248,690 voted for prohibition and 2,458 against. In Stockholm, the Gibraltar of the drink interest, 43.4 per cent of the whole adult population actually registered for prohibition. There were 95,446 yes—vs. 6,074 no, with 29,861 refusing to vote. Of these last 3,637 declared themselves in favor of prohibition, 6,194 against and 20,034 indifferent. In Gothenburg the home of the System 47.6 per cent of the entire adult population voted "dry." But one should not conclude from this that the friends of the System are even here in a majority. Quite the contrary. The ratio of signatures obtained (and every effort was made to get as complete as possible a registration) was fully one hundred to one in favor of prohibition.

It is not necessary to pile statistic on statistic. One gets an impression of the great strength of prohibitionist opinion from such statements as that in the province of Jönköping, for example, 106,855 voted for prohibition and only 836 voted against. In Upsala province 54,021 for and 478 against; Jämtland 52,029 yes, 171 no; Gotland 17,030 yes, 156 no; Värmland 106,697 yes, 201 no; Alvsborg 96,264 yes, 815 no; Kopperbärg 102,993 yes, 239 no, and so on.

One of the most astonishing and delightful surprises in connection with this referendum has been the extent to which university influence has favored pro-

hibition. This is perhaps as much due to the preparatory work among Swedish students which has bound together eleven thousand university, gymnasial, polytechnic and other students into the Sveriges Studerande Ungdoms Hälmykterhetsförbund — an admirable league of anti-alcohol students—as to the prohibition weeks. In the chief university town, Upsala, 12,668 voted prohibition and 236 voted against it. Of the students who voted 611 voted for and 114 against. Prof. Frey Svensson the well-known psychiatrist described alcohol as “the king of poisons,” the great first cause of national decay and threw his powerful influence to the prohibition side. Prof. Santesson denounced those who selfishly refused to give up their vice for the public good. Prof. Gustav Cassels, the political economist, declared the alcohol capital to be “worthless, wasted, more than that, a positive evil. It is like capital laid down in the construction of a hostile fortress in the heart of our land spreading ruin on all sides. If the camp had cost ever so much it must be razed to the ground.” And then he went on to say what is so obviously true and so unexpected from a political economist’s lips: “There is no real wealth except life. There is something wrong when people defend a business the only fruits of which are tears and cursing. This is a political economy of death not of life. To make life cleaner, more beautiful, richer—to fill the land with alert, clear-headed, bright young people—that’s the best political economy for Sweden.”

The medical professors Henschen, Medin and

Petrén signed the prohibition appeal. That charming writer, Selma Lagerlöf, expressed her hope for an alcohol-free Sweden. Prof. Wallis wrote:

"To find the right solution of the alcohol problem is the central task of all social effort. Industrial problems, questions arising from falling birth and rising death rates, and all the rest, can be settled only when the use of alcohol has ceased. The Swedish people must head the movement, first of enlightenment as to the evil, and finally of its abolition through prohibitory legislation.

"If we fail in obtaining the wills and consciences of people through educational effort we must look around for the political weapon which will break the way for us. This we shall find in woman's ballot. The wives of work-people in our capital city have seen the blessings of prohibition in the strike days. With their political emancipation the strongest fortress of the Swedish drink interest will soon be taken."

What are the prospects of the near future?

Bright indeed. The second chamber of the Riksdag voted last February unanimously to take up for consideration the subject of national prohibition. The first chamber, like the English House of Lords, a spider-clot of reaction with its landed aristocracy, its bishops, its distillers, refused to consent to the proposal.

Fortunately the new suffrage conditions point to a decided change in the character and quality of this chamber.

Then look out, ye partisans of international race-poisoning! Enforced national prohibition in Sweden will give an illustration which will work like a quick contagion elsewhere.





# SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER

## TO THE

# Breakdown of the Gothenburg System

By ERNEST GORDON

On page 25 it is stated that the Swedish Company managers receive all profits from the sale of beer. Since 1909 this is no longer the case *in those shops which the Company itself operates.*

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"Aftonposten," of Christiania, which represents the most acrid type of pro-alcohol capitalist opinion, published on the first page of its issue for the 12th of January, 1912, a long article, entitled "A More Temperate City." Here are a few sentences from it:

"The increasing drunkenness in the city is calculated to awaken attention. It has been announced that arrests for this cause during the past year (1911) show an increase of 4,500 over the number for 1909. We applied to Police Inspector Sörensen for his opinion of the situation.

"'Yes,' said the Inspector, 'our drunkenness is a disgrace to us. This should be said, and often said, that it may stir people. Something ought to be done to prevent our city's being number one with a long lead in this direction. . . . You may believe it is hopeless work for us police with all this drunkenness and wretchedness among the poorly situated classes. Most of the arrested are dragged to the station dead drunk Heads of families, who have drunk the money wives and children require for food; young boys, who have wasted the kroner mothers needed; loafers, shaking drunkards—every day in the year the same unending tragedy.'"

And then, without moving a muscle of his face, he goes on to suggest a remedy. "If the sale of half-liter bottles, which can be easily secreted in the pocket, were forbidden and only whole liters sold, things would be better."

Something must be done! There is to be an assault all along the line on the Samlag System in 1913. The temperance party, the Socialists and the women voters make a dangerous combination. Inspector Sörensen confesses that the Samlags on Gröndlandstov and Lilletov (Christiania) are simply "traps" (*faldgruber*) for the poorest of the city. He thinks "if the drinking-places were kept clean, and if there were a distinct limit to the amount of drink one were allowed to buy, we should see an improvement."

The head director of the Christiania Samlag, Mr. Klingenberg, did not relish this semi-official exposure. He retorted the next day in the press that the Police Inspector's utterances showed little knowledge of the real situation, and that if there should be any fixed limit to the amount of drink sold to individuals "much dissatisfaction would undoubtedly be awakened" (among drinkers). He thought it eminently fitting that the drink-shops should be placed "where the public passed" (i. e., on the market-places in the poorest quarters of the city).

Whereat the Police Inspector returned to the charge in the following words:

"I could never understand how it could be considered congruous with the Samlag's alleged purposes to allow people to sit in its drinking-places and pour down from ten to fifteen glasses of spirits—sometimes even more, not to speak of a greater or less quantity of beer—often early in the morning and without serving food. I will not insist that there are many who drink fifteen glasses on the stretch in these shops. But it occurs, and nothing is done to hinder it. There are not infrequently people who do away with ten glasses and a suitable amount of beer at the same time. Workmen sit and drink in this way without having eaten. If these people are not clearly drunk during their stay in the drink-shop they are drunk later. Some are arrested, but some get home to terrorize wife and children.

"Neither can I understand how the Samlag can serve brandy

and beer together, as much as is called for, and without food. This combination is very intoxicating. The Samlag should sell only one of them to people who have not eaten. From my personal knowledge and from material in my possession I can affirm that it is not uncommon for drink to be sold to intoxicated persons. The Samlag does nothing, as far as I know, to reduce the consumption of drink. Since last October they have arranged in Gothenburg to sell spirits only with meals. Our Samlag ought to close its shops at 7 p. m., and to close the worst of them up for good. There must be a change. If not, I believe we may reckon with the possibility of the closing of all of them in the next elections."

I happened across a delegation of three Englishmen last summer, who were studying the Gothenburg System. They were loud in its praises, having observed its action two days in Bergen and a half day in Christiania. They were going, I believe, to Gothenburg also. Professor Jensen, who was showing them about the city, took us to the Samlag shop on Youngstorvet. The visitors seemed satisfied with its general appearance.

This is what a correspondent in "Afholdsbladet" (November 25, 1911) writes of this particular shop:

"At regular intervals there are complaints of drunkenness on Youngstorvet. Sometimes these complaints come to the surface in mass meetings, gotten up by the residents of the neighborhood, and incredible stories are told of drunkenness and rowdyism, even under the windows of the police station; of the discomforts which residents have to endure. Resolutions are passed, the papers report the meeting and the result?

*Status Quo!*

"The last report is in 'Tidens Tegn' (a Christiania daily): 'It is sad to see the crowd of ragged men who loaf around the Samlag in Youngstorvet. It is a resort for a gang of idlers and drunkards, and a dangerous centre of temptation to the country people who come to the market with wares. In

spite of the fact that police station and Samlag are close neighbors this constitutes one of the ugliest places in our city.'"

Then this correspondent proceeds to tell other things. "I had supposed that no Samlag gave credit, and had insisted that here, at least, was one point in the System's favor. But alas! this light spot is darkened by a notice in 'Mercantil Oplysnings-tidende' of the confiscation of property for debt by a Samlag. This Samlag, as any other business, had, in order to hold its nose above water in the general competition, given credit. And one other interesting occurrence. 'Three hundred bottles of brandy were confiscated lately at the Moss railroad station. They had been consigned to Lars Karlstad, a bootlegger in Moss. The consignment was sent from the Samlag in Hölen. My last illusion concerning the Samlag System has died a painful death."

In the fall of 1911 there were many complaints of drunkenness among passengers on the railways running out of Christiania. This went so far that the West Railroad and Smaalens Railroad appointed special officers to keep order on its trains, and this not only at the terminal station, but on the route. ("Aftonposten," November 22, 1911.) "Tidens Tegn" declared that the authorities were not strict enough in insisting on temperance among the railway personnel, and a correspondent in the same paper described how some of these fill their handbags with bottles of spirits in the city and retail them to country people along the railway. Another illustration of Christiania's alcoholism is given by Director Kjaer. Some years ago he placed counters at two suitable points to register the number of intoxicated returning from Holmenkollen after the winter sports on "Holmenkollen Day" (ski-running, ski-jumping, etc.). Of the 15,785 persons who passed 308 were visibly drunk, or one in every fifty! And this was a "better-class" crowd.

Pastor Eugene Hanssen, who is a member of the committee set by the communal authorities of Christiania to consider reforms in the poor relief of the city, has just reported on the

relation of drink to poverty. He has made a careful study of the life history of 300 representative families, and on the basis of results obtained concludes that 70% of the city's poverty can be safely set down to drink; in other words, that 1,600 of the 2,300 families receiving poor relief were brought to their fall by parental alcohol excesses. In nine years these families have cost the city 5 million Kroner. After narrating the fate of various families the speaker said: "I have been soul-sick at all the misery I have seen this winter (in the course of the investigation). I had not dreamed that things were so fearful. One sees how family after family sinks lower and lower. All our efforts for their betterment are essentially fruitless. The fault in our method is that it is a hospital method rather than a preventative hygienic one. It is of no use trying to doctor up these drunken men. We must stop the sale of drink. These investigations have given me a deeper and deeper understanding for the prohibitive principle."

Eulogists of the Gothenburg System delight in pointing to the relatively low consumption of drink in Sweden. Throw out the Bolag-free districts and then take your reckoning, gentlemen! Stockholm's consumption of various forms of strong liquors is computed at about seven million liters, or twenty liters of spirits for every man, woman, child and sucking infant. To this must be added 115 liters of beer for each individual in these categories. The price Stockholmers pay for these suicidal purchases is 35 million kroner yearly. Mr. Lindblom, a poor-inspector of the city, reported at a caritative congress in Gothenburg that 51.07% of the children taken in charge by the city of Stockholm were victims of parental alcoholism, and that 6,400 people were helped yearly by communal relief funds, who owed their poverty directly to drink. <sup>(1)</sup> That sturdy defender of the System, the late Mr. S. Wiesel-

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(1) Helenius, "Alkoholspörgsmålet," p. 352.

gren, acknowledged in a paper read at the Brussels Prison Congress of 1900 that alcoholism exerted an "unexampled influence on Swedish criminality." Over 70% of the crimes of the 19,453 men in Swedish prisons in 1887-97 stood in some relation to drink. (Detailed tables can be found in Helenius' "Alkoholspörgsmålet," ch. 8.)

And just as the great consumption of drink in Sweden is in the Bolag-cursed cities, so the bulk of the drunkenness is to be found there. At the Stockholm Anti-alcohol Congress Mr. Almquist stated that while Swedish cities contained but 23.5% of the population, 75.5% of all the convictions were from them. <sup>(2)</sup> How mercilessly the alcohol-sick are exploited can be gathered from a letter which appeared in "Tidens Tegn" for January 23, 1912. It was from a Stockholm correspondent, and reported the conviction to prison of a drunkard for the 130th time, and of a woman suffering from the same sickness, who had been, because of it, arrested 67 times.

We could go on indefinitely with illustrative matter of this type. Professor Wallis, when asked at the Budapest Congress to give his opinion about the System, said: "We have had forty years' experience of it. Our feelings concerning it are of a very mixed character. Theory is good gold; practise is bad nickel." <sup>(3)</sup> One of the most dispassionate and most searching judgments of the System known to the writer is the paper read by Mr. August Ljunggren at the Stockholm Congress. After characterizing the System as "obsolete and impotent" he went on to say: "It is, without doubt, a great temptation for a Swede who loves his country and would gladly see it honored and esteemed to join in the international hymn of praise which rises in honor of the Swedish Company System; but I must believe that telling the truth concerning it will bring us the more enduring honor. . . .

(2) Bericht ü. d. XI. Kongress gegen d. Alkoholismus. p. 207.

(3) XIème Congrès Int. contre l'Alcoolisme. Rapports et Comptes-Rendu. p. 298.

One gets in Rowntree and Sherwell a wholly different picture from that which is current in Sweden. By referring to legislation in Norway and Finland, and by tacking on principles which do not belong to the Gothenburg System, they succeed in conjuring up pictures which have little to do with it." (1)

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(1) Bericht ü. d. XI. Kongress, pp. 361 and 351. In the annual course for the scientific study of alcoholism held in a hall of Berlin University, Dr. Eggers says ("Der Alkoholismus," Berlin, 1907, p. 86), and double-leads the statement in the printed report: "There is no spirits capital in Scandinavia." But a year or more ago the Swedish papers were occupied with the new spirits' trust, which the various Swedish distilleries were on the point of forming. On p. 85 he affirms (again in double leads) that "the fall in the consumption of spirits in Scandinavia must be put down to the credit of the System."

Mr. Sherwell was lynx-eyed enough when it came to ferreting out one or another kitchen bar in Portland. One would like to know to what extent he and Mr. Rowntree and Dr. Eggers have studied the published criticisms of the System which have appeared in Scandinavia. On this question of the decline of the spirits sale in Norway, for example, a brief paper was read at the Third Int. Anti-alcohol Congress, which constitutes a crushingly complete refutation of Dr. Eggers' contention. This appeared in 1890, many years before Rowntree and Sherwell's Bible of Gothenburgism saw daylight. I will quote a few sentences.

Though granting that the number of drink-shops is less than formerly, Mr. Aarestad points out that while the earlier ones were generally in side streets and lanes, the Samlag shops, as a rule, are posted near railway stations, quais and market-places, where the number of passers is far greater. The visitation of a single shop in the smaller cities is probably nearly as great as that of two of the earlier type. During the first twenty years that the Samlags operated the sales of certain of them distinctly increased. Thus, Hammerfest's (13,014 liters in 1880) rose to 19,750 in 1888. Sarpsborg's (28,927 liters in 1883) rose year by year until, in 1888, it was 40,082. Skien's (18,209 l. in 1881, its first year) mounted steadily during seven years up to 97,106. Arendal's sale advanced from 39,567 to 57,231. Drammen, Hønefos, Vadsö, Gjøvik, Kongsberg and Bodö also showed a rising tendency in the years before 1890. The directorate of the Hønefos Samlag pointed out that there had been a steady rise in sale, yet affirmed in every annual report that they had done all in their power to bring about a reduction in sales!

The regulative features in Samlag administration have no effect on the wholesale trade of the Samlags, the so-called "anker" sale (an "anker" is a forty-liter wooden cask). Yet it has been just

One is astonished, indeed, at the hardihood of those who, in attempting a description of the situation in Sweden, pass by so much that is damaging and which lies on the surface for the observation of every one. But there are further sources of information which no thorough investigator should have left unexamined, and which can furnish deep tones enough

in this line that the Samlag turnover has chiefly shrunk. While the bar and bottle sale had in no case (up to 1890) gone down to more than one-third of the initial sale, the "anker" or wholesale trade, had melted to one-eighth, one-tenth, one-twelfth, one-fourteenth, and in some cases to one-twentieth of the original sale! Thus, in the representative and well-administered Kristiansand Samlag the retail trade declined from 140,372 to 95,527, but the Samlag's "anker" sale fell from 10,635 l. to 346 l. (The private "anker" sale in the town fell at the same time from 81,756 to 11,974.) But this is not all. Mr. Aarestad affirms (p. 180) that the retail sale, the sale on which the Samlag System would naturally exert any influence it was capable of exerting, had actually risen *relatively*. In 1870 the sales under 40 liters constituted 41% of total sales. In 1890 they had risen to 46%. In other words, the Samlag System had had no apparent part in the decline in Norwegian spirits consumption.

To what, then, does Mr. Aarestad attribute the fall in consumption, and especially the decline in wholesale trade? Solely to the temperance movement. The "anker" trade was chiefly rural, and the temperance movement has also had its strength predominatingly in the country. Further, those Samlags whose trade had, up to 1890, most fallen off were the ones situated in districts where the temperance movement had struck deepest root, viz., Stavanger, Lister, Mandal, Nedenaes, Jarlsberg and Larvik. The tables which Mr. Aarestad produces are extremely convincing. It is interesting to note how by a regular progression the number of organized temperance societies in Nedenaes rose from 3 with 50 members in 1875 to 65 with 7,630 members in 1880, and how year by year sales in the five Samlags of the province dropped from 182,185 liters to 114,284, and of the "anker" sale from 18,088 to 4,238 liters. On the other hand, the provinces where the temperance movement had, before 1890, difficulty in entering, were just the ones where the Samlag sale was either advancing or stationary—Buskerud (with the Drammen, Kongsberg and Hønefos Samlags) and the districts about Hammerfest, Sarpsborg and Vadsø.

It may be added that since Mr. Aarestad's paper was published the closing of many Samlags all over Norway has, as in the case of Trondhjem (see p. 43), stimulated the extra-urban sale again. The drinking minorities of the areas, bereft of their own Samlags, naturally turn for their supplies to the Samlags still remaining.



for any canvas. We have in the preceding pages borrowed from Mr. Oscar Petersson's relentless criticism of the System.<sup>(2)</sup> But this study was preceded by an earlier one, which was based on the Report of the Royal Finance Department delivered to the Riksdag of 1895.<sup>(3)</sup> It is a brief pamphlet, but contains game scent enough to have put any investigators on the right track who were really in search of game.

We will not duplicate evidence, but merely add certain points from Messrs. Petersson and Ljunggren, which have not been emphasized. Mr. Petersson shows, for example, how the theory of disinterested management is caricatured in empiry. "The Bolags of Calmar, Oskarshamn and Karlshamn pay their management with 5% to 10% of the net income. In Ronneby the directors receive 300 Kr. plus 2% of the gross income. In Stromstad they receive 500 Kr. plus 5% of the net income. In Skara the manager is paid 2,000 Kr. *plus 10% of the net income, which runs over 2,000 Kr.* (One can imagine how this arrangement would interest the manager in keeping down sales!) In Östersund he receives a free house, 5,000 Kroner and 5% of the net income. In Marstrand, again, he is given 3 öre for every liter of spirits sold, plus one half per cent. of the cost price of the wares sold.<sup>(4)</sup> In many cases the regulation fixing the limit of profit is gotten round by allowing the manager 1% to 2% of the gross income—for leakage and spillage!<sup>(5)</sup>

There is a great variation in purchasing and selling prices among the different Bolags. This is suggestive of juggling. Thus, in Herposand, for example, the cost price of spirits was 10.5 öre per liter more than in the neighboring Sundsvall Bolag. In Engleholm the Bolag paid from 5.5 öre to 9 öre more per liter for spirits than any other Bolag in the Province of Skåne.

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(2) Oscar Petersson, Sv. rusedrykslagstiftningen, etc.

(3) do., do., Göteborgs Systemet. En Studie, Stockholm, 1897.

(4) do., do., p. 14.

(5) Petersson, loc. cit., p. 18.

In one year purchasing prices varied with different Bolags between 72 and 120 öre, and selling places between 105 and 155 öre. <sup>(1)</sup>

What is even more discreditable is the fact, recently discovered, that Bolags have, in order to attract trade, put down the price of the brandy with a higher alcohol content. Formerly the Bolags competed against each other by giving rebates on large sales, but the government stopped this. Now they lower the price of a "drunk" by increasing the alcohol percentage and cutting rates on this more intoxicating solution. Thus prices are at present (1912) for

Gothenburg.....	1.50	Kr. per liter for 30% spirits.
Kungsbacka.....	1.30	" " " " 40% "
Marstrand.....	1.30	" " " " 45% "
Lysekil.....	1.25	" " " " 46% "

and so on. <sup>(2)</sup>

We have explained how Bolags have been found hiring their places from the cities at exorbitant rates. Mr. Petersson affirms that it is not uncommon for them to hire selling-places from shareholders. One is mentioned, which hired all its selling-places from one stockholder. <sup>(3)</sup> In Skara, according to the auditor's report, the Bolag suffered a clear loss of 4,100 Kr. through excessive rents. <sup>(3)</sup> In Ulricehamn the Bolag has handed over its right of selling bottled goods to a private company, and pledges itself to buy all the spirits it needs for its retail trade from this company, an arrangement which gives abundant opportunity for making one hand wash the other. <sup>(4)</sup> That such operations take place elsewhere is illustrated in a

(1) Petersson, loc. cit., p. 18.

(2) Dr. Scharffenberg, at the Hague Congress, 1911, publicly charged Norwegian Samlags with sending pure alcohol to mining and factory districts in the country. This enables drinkers to get drunk more quickly. ("Direkte folkeafstemninger," p. 32.)

(3) Petersson, loc. cit., p. 15.

(4) do., do., p. 15.

report in "Svenska Morgenbladet" (February 13, 1912) of a meeting of the Stockholm City Council the evening before. The Stockholm Bolag was on the rack. It was asserted that various wine-dealers were giving false declarations to the Bolag. The reporting auditor sharply scored the Bolag for allowing such practises to go on, and Dr. Bratt declared that its general management was of such a character that it deserved simply to be dissolved and a new Bolag formed.

"The Bolag System has brought demoralization to city governments and to individuals coming into contact with it," says Mr. Petersson. This opinion is confirmed by Professor Wallis in the above-mentioned speech at Buda Pest. "The Gothenburg System has corrupted the officials of the cities. All our cities are corrupted in this respect."<sup>(1)</sup> This judgment was given at an international congress, without heat, by one of the most responsible persons in Sweden. In illustration, Mr. Petersson instances the fact that it is no uncommon thing, when a man or company applies for the right to sell in a place, offering to be taxed on the basis of a 4,000 liter annual sale, for another applicant, with a taxing limit of 3,000 liter, to receive the license, even though the first person be in every way qualified for the enterprise. This because the accepted person has a "pull" with members of the communal government.<sup>(2)</sup> Mr. Petersson adds the interesting fact that when communes without Bolags have come into a tight place financially and it is proposed to introduce a Bolag to ease the fiscal strain, this proposal *invariably* comes from "the pillars of society," the well-to-do—never from the people.<sup>(2)</sup>

These rich men in the communes, who profit in devious ways from the Bolags, have been able, says Mr. Ljunggren, by their connections in the Upper Chamber of Riksdag, to turn down local-option legislation, which the Lower House has sent up.

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(1) Xième Congrès Int. contre l'Alcoolisme, p. 299.

(2) Petersson, loc. cit., p. 24.

"If the trade in spirits is forbidden," said one representative of "the classes" in the Upper House quite frankly, "it will not be pleasant to be a taxpayer in the country." <sup>(1)</sup> It is from this stratum that those in control of the Bolags come. In a great number of cities the sale of spirits has become the monopoly of a few town magnates, who, with their plural votes, have had a commanding position in the community. <sup>(2)</sup> High salaries and large *honoraria* for directors, managers and auditors have tempted to the formation of companies with a very small number of shareholders. Of 87 companies in 1892 not less than 22 had only 2-3 shareholders. <sup>(3)</sup> In the smaller places the Bolag often controls the whole communal administration. Very many companies have handed over all licenses to private persons to operate. The social position and character of the company managers have not proved a guarantee against crookedness. The companies have been the bitterest enemies of the temperance party, especially when attempts have been made to limit the number of drink-shops licensed. Yet when licenses have been suppressed they have claimed this as proof of their concern for temperance. <sup>(3)</sup>

Mr. Ljunggren gives further particulars of the extent to which disinterested management is reduced to a farce in Stockholm. This Bolag, in 1904-5, rented out 138 of its licenses to private persons, operating only 92 itself. From the 92 its profit was 2,195,398 Kr. From the 138 it received only 367,577 Kr. In other words, the bulk of the profits from the major part of the licenses went into private pockets. Mr. Ljunggren made investigations as to the amount of these profits in 1906. He found them to have been 2,460,298 Kr. <sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) Bericht ü. d. XI. Int. Kongress gegen d. Alkoholismus, p. 352. The Riksdag has put a period to this game by the law of Oct. 1, 1907. Art. 15., sec. 3.

(2) In some communes, before the recent electoral reforms, a single person could, on the ground of property qualifications, out-vote all other members of the communal corporation.

(3) Bericht ü. d. XI. Int. Kongress, p. 359.

(4) do., do., p. 353.

These sub-let licenses are utilized to run saloons far over the stipulated hours, and in many cases night and day. Sixty-eight drink-shops were found to be running till 12 o'clock, although the legal closing time was fixed at 10 o'clock. Forty-six had permission to run all night through, this right being given for one week at a time. From January 1 to December 10, 1906, 1,456 of these all-night permissions were issued in Stockholm.

Fifty-nine wine-shops of the better type also have rights of selling overtime. When objections were formally made against this practise not only did the drink-sellers themselves protest against interference, but the management of the Bolag, together with the highest administrative authority of the city, unanimously and vigorously affirmed that to limit the hours of selling would drive away tourists, rob thousands of their daily bread and ruin the restaurants. <sup>(1)</sup>

The System bravely tries to keep up its reputation before the international public. In 1904 Director Fitger, of Gothenburg, went to the Bremen Anti-alcohol Congress to defend Company management. He acknowledged that the Gothenburg Bolag "was not carrying on the fight against drunkenness with the bright enthusiasm of a victorious champion," but that "it was on the defensive, in a resigned attitude." "One cannot make the System responsible for human imperfections," he added, affirming unctuously that "its task was to be a brother's keeper to those threatened with drunkenness." <sup>(2)</sup>

Director Rubenson, of the Stockholm Bolag, was less pious. His theory was that the System "accustomed the working-man to look on brandy not as a refreshing drink but as a condiment for food. It had sought to give the serving of meals a dominating place in the drink business." <sup>(3)</sup>

This was handed out to the Stockholm Congress, where

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(1) Bericht ü. d. XI. Int. Kongress, p. 353.

(2) Bericht ü. d. IX. Kongress, Bremen, pp. 216-217.

(3) Bericht ü. d. XI. Kongress, Stockholm, p. 346.

the visitors had an opportunity to test the director's affirmation. Dr. Hercod went about the drink-shops, and reported having seen many 'served drink without food, and many, obviously intoxicated, served more drink. He called attention to "the excessive tolerance" which allowed the sale of two glasses of brandy (price 16 öre) with a lunch costing 10 öre (less than three cents).<sup>(1)</sup> The System's monstrous deal of sack, with its pennyworth of bread, was also commented on by Dr. Eggers. The "meal" in one case consisted of a little round cake, the size of a peppermint drop. In another shop, when a glass of milk was asked for, the barmaid answered: "Får de inte vara en snaps i ställe?" (Can't it be a whisky instead?)<sup>(2)</sup>

It may be well to stop a moment to consider this feature of "meals," since it is one upon which advocates of the System delight to expatiate. The Temperance Legislation League, an organization seeking to make sentiment for the System in Great Britain, declares in one of its publications ("Recent Criticisms of the G. S.," p. 5, 2d series) that "to speak of public-houses is to mislead the reader."<sup>(3)</sup> The Swedish *vårds-husen* are really restaurants in which no customer can purchase spirits without purchasing food. Nor can he buy more than two drams."

In the first place we would explain that the Gothenburg Bolag Official Reports describe the drinking-places as *krog-afdelningarna*, which is the nearest equivalent to public-house that one can find in Swedish; next that the restriction mentioned is of a recent date. Up to October, 1911, one could get a drink of cheap brandy without food, and only with the second drink was one required to buy (not consume) food to the value of 6 öre or 1.6 cents! Even this regulation dates only from February, 1908. The writer went about Gothenburg after reading the statement of the English writers to see just

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(1) Bericht ü. d. XI. Kongress, Stockholm, p. 346.

(2) Bericht ü. d. XI. Kongress, Stockholm, pp. 364 and 366.

(3) The same authors elsewhere ("The Temperance Problem," p. 111) speak of the Bolag shops as public-houses.

how things stood. The first drinkshop entered was the show place, Postgatan 14. A cup of coffee was ordered. The bartender makes all the profit on such soft drinks and is, therefore, theoretically, especially interested in "pushing their sale." This did not hinder him from asking if "the gentleman wouldn't have cognac with it." The gentleman wouldn't. He sat down and watched operations. In thirteen minutes five men entered, one after another, marched to the bar, were served spirits, swallowed them quickly and went out without smelling food.

One can buy cognac, whisky, gin, punch and any other form of distilled liquors (save the cheap brandy) without food. These sales are not inconsiderable. The entire amount of spirits sold by the glass by the Gothenburg Company in 1910 was 811,429 liters; that of cheap brandy, 442,080. Much of the "better" spirits were taken with food; much without. It is conceded that alcohol taken fasting is more dangerous than when taken with food, and on this fact rests, presumably, the theoretical merit of this feature of the Bolag's administration. One cannot understand, however, why other forms of spirits are exempted from this regulation.

Further, the use of the word restaurant is, to say the least, over-emphasis when applied to the saloon department. The food to be eaten with a drink constitutes no real meal. One is as well handled, if not better, at the free-lunch table of an American saloon. The usual "meal" is a brimming glass of spirits, a boiled egg as *entr' acte*, followed by a second glass of spirits. Or perhaps in place of the egg is a spindling sausage, with a dab of potato. Such a "meal" can hardly be considered a physiological life-belt in the alcohol torrent. I noticed that in many cases the "meal" was further pieced out with a half-liter of beer. Beer, by the way, can be bought without taking this ethereal dinner. The Gothenburg Bolag, with commendable honesty, published in its annual report (p. 13, 1910) the number of these meals which are served with every 100 glasses of cheap brandy. In 1900 it was 17; in 1910

it had risen to 25. The Stockholm Bolag directors themselves acknowledge that during practically its whole existence the Bolag saloon-department "restaurant" has been a mere mask. In their 1909 report (p. 1113) they state that *during the year past* the Bolag has transformed the saloon department to "*real restaurants*." But another supporter of the Gothenburg theory, Dr. Bratt, is not yet satisfied. In his (1911) proposals for future reforms he would not allow cheap brandy to be served "except with a *real meal*, i. e., with at least 50 öre's worth of food" (14 cents' worth). "Brandy without food is to be looked upon as a real and dangerous poison. In this way one would have to eat in many places and much before one could be intoxicated." The modesty of this reform proposal is a pretty good measure of the bunkum which Gothenburg enthusiasts have been dishing out for a generation to the public. Another incident should be noticed here. In 1911 the revisors (i. e., committee of the city government which audits the affairs of the Bolag) requested the Bolag management to set out fresh water on every table so that any one eating might not feel obliged to take intoxicating drink with food. Mr. Rubenson replied for the directors that "there were practical difficulties which made this impossible."<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Mr. von Koch called attention, at the Stockholm Anti-alcohol Congress, to the fact that the restaurants of the Stockholm Bolag make it very difficult for alcohol-free restaurants to establish themselves. The income the Bolag drains out of the poor in its saloon-sections enables it to sell food very cheaply in its restaurants. The theory of the System is that drinking men are restrained from drinking too much. It is questionable if much is accomplished in this direction, but through its restaurants it makes, according to Mr. Törnfeldt, "many, many" men alcoholists. "At first they go there for food, but are soon snared in the alcohol spider's net. When they have become inoculated with the taste they go for the alcohol" ("Verdandisten," No. 4, 1911). For this reason socialists are urging the organization of co-operative restaurants to make unmarried wage-workers independent of System restaurants. There are in Stockholm nine alcohol-free Automat restaurants. How easy it would have been for the Stockholm Bolag with its great income to have covered the city with such places where men could get meals without drink! In six Stockholm market-places are milk Automats, which are greatly prized by wage-workers selling night and day and, in winter, warm milk. But they are operated by temperance women. The Bolag is too busy running its alcohol business "in the interest of morality" to undertake any such enterprises.



I talked with various men at the tables as to the enforcement of the regulation limiting the amount sold to two glasses. Some averred that it was only necessary to step outside for a few minutes and to come in again to get a second serving. This may or may not be true. Certainly there are times in the day when it would be difficult in the crush at the bar to detect a second application. There is, however, no control which can hinder a man from going from shop to shop. In three minutes one is at another drinking-place. Thus, Andralangatan 9 (Gothenburg), for example, is but a stone's throw from Andralangatan 51.

The Socialist paper "Verdandisten" (February, 1912)—the Socialists take a special delight in letting the gas out of the System—speaks in a derisive way of the violation of this regulation. "Numbers of bar-girls (in the Stockholm drinkshops) serve five or six glasses with food after one gets a little acquainted with them and when they see that the coast is clear. The more accommodating they are the more certain they are of getting tips for their trouble. One saloon (*krog*) where these violations constitute a regular system is that in Drotthuset in Stadsgården. Every coal-heaver and longshoreman knows about it. Many other places could also be named, especially the few where there is no controller about. . . . There should be a couple of hours between drinks but this rule is sinned against daily and hourly. Indeed, it happens not so infrequently that a person simply moves from one table to another without leaving the room at all."

The writer adds the interesting fact that notices on the walls forbid the bar-tenders "to make any suggestion as to giving tips." This instead of a straight prohibition of tips! The rich Stockholm Company pays its girl bar-tenders 20 kroner, or \$5.50, a month (with board and room) in the lower grade drinking places, and 15 kroner, or \$4.20, a month, in the restaurants! "One asks with astonishment why the girls are worse paid in the so-called better department. It is simply because

the Bolag calculates that the public will piece out the girls' pay with tips. This is to be taken, observes the writer sarcastically, with the fact that the bar-girls in the saloon department are ordered to have their hair combed tight, while those in the upper class can have as many 'rats' in it as they wish. The workingman's morals must be protected."

In that extremely able little Socialist paper, "Der Abstinente Arbeiter," of Berlin, a correspondent remarks (December 23, 1911): "The bourgeois cannot think of the proletariat as a mighty forward-moving struggler, animated by his own ideals. For him he is a human being who lives in misery and will abide in it unless the bourgeois come to his help and draw him out of it." This spirit of patronage and of tutelage is everywhere apparent in the Gothenburg System. The System is a characteristic institution of the happily fading nineteenth century liberalism. The more radical the democratic movement in Scandinavia becomes, the more vigorous its anti-alcoholism. The Norwegian Social Democracy has now joined that of Sweden and Finland in making prohibition a party program point, although this step has meant the retirement of two of its most valued leaders. The Young Socialists, who are largely syndicalists and determined to force the pace of proletarian advance, are the strongest anti-alcoholists. One can imagine what Traenmel, Jensen and their followers would say of the calculation—in the spirit of the blessed Lafitte—which is stuck away in fine print with other notices behind a glass frame, high on the walls of the Gothenburg drinking-places. The "workingman" is informed that, if he gives up drinking one glass of potato brandy daily, he will save in the course of the year 29.7 kroner; two glasses, 59.4 kr., and three glasses, 89.1 kr. This in 25 years will amount to 2,763 kr. 51 öre, which will, with interest properly compounded, bring in a life rent of 167.64 kr. All very well, no doubt, and important, for a will-less, psychopathic alcoholic to know. But could any-

thing illustrate better the essentially burgher spirit of the Gothenburg directors?

The contrast between what rich "liberals" would do for the people and what democracy does for itself, comes out when one compares the six lounging-rooms established by the Bolag in Gothenburg with, for example, the great People's House in Zurich. In the one case we have "almshouse physiognomy"—a table or two, wooden seats, a few newspapers scattered about, and 400 books locked in a walnut bookcase.<sup>(1)</sup> One is indeed out of the rain. But how different the artistic warmth and attractiveness, the freedom and opportunity of the Zurich people's centre! Dr. Laquer speaks of "the asserted relation of the Gothenburg System to the intellectual activity of the laboring class in that city" (p. 16, "Gotenburger System und Alkoholismus"). If that assertion were ever made it was made for export. Certainly no Swede would listen to it with a straight face. In 1905 the average daily visit to each waiting-room was 181 in a total of 13,500 laborers. The Bolag in Gothenburg has had money enough at its disposal to have built the most æsthetic and ample quarters for the people's use. Its annual net income has risen steadily—from 50,782 kr. in 1865 to 1,387,520 kr. in 1910.

Lest these judgments of "disinterested management" in practise should seem unduly harsh we would refer to Dr. Laquer's above-mentioned "Gotenburger System und Alkoholismus." Dr. Laquer is not unfriendly to the System; neither does he show any enthusiasm for it. As far as Germany is concerned he concludes that "it is not the Hercules required to cleanse the Augias stable" (p. 54). Among the good points which he mentions is the fact that drink-selling is "taken out of the hands of an asocial class and placed in that of a higher and philanthropic class" (the alcohol Jacobins, so to speak,

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(1) Rowntree and Sherwell, p. 111: "They are used in combating intemperance through satisfying to some extent the craving for recreation apart from the public-house." But to what extent, pray?

being replaced by loftier-minded alcohol-selling Girondists).<sup>(1)</sup> In view of the general history of the Scandinavian companies one is permitted to question the importance of this fact. "It has raised the ethical-æsthetic level of spirits-selling." "The drinkshops do not draw attention by signs." This last is true.<sup>(2)</sup> In external appearance the System shops are far more decent than American saloons. Within they vary as saloons vary. Of the Norwegian Samlags he says: "They have a melancholy appearance. Abandon hope all ye who enter here." He further remarks that the System has done away with many of the abuses which accompany private competition, meaning probably selling to minors, on credit, etc. "On the other hand it has only moderately affected the sale of brandy in the cities, has favored home-drinking and only slightly lessened the number of deaths from alcoholism, of alcohol insanities, alcohol crime and pauperism" (p. 31). "The majority of the Bolag's shops give the impression of places for supplying the alcohol needs of the lower proletarianized strata of wage-workers. Be-

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(1) "Verdandisten" (July 25, 1912) mentions the repulsive fact that hardly a Bolag can be found on the directorate of which there does not sit a member who is at the same time a member of the local State Church council. And to be elected to such a position one must be known as "God-fearing and zealous." John Bright's sneer at the English State Church as standing for "religious education and delirium tremens" clearly has its application elsewhere. On the 20th of February, 1901, a Congress of representatives of the Swedish Bolags met in Stockholm. Mr. Bagge, of Jönköping, in a speech said: "We are assembled in a patriotic enterprise and hope that, with God's help, the fruit of our work will be to the blessing of our land and of many of its people."

(2) Although the banishment of signs has practically no effect on alcohol consumption it heightens immensely the impression of a city's alcohol decency. The predisposed observer who visits a Swedish city is given a favorable feeling in this way which he perhaps does not stop to analyze. There can be little doubt, either, that the extraordinarily high general culture of Sweden also unconsciously prejudices the stranger in the System's favor. He comes from a dirt-choked, Irish-administered American city, or from the drizzle and rags and cheerlessness of an English manufacturing town to Gothenburg, with its immaculately clean, granite-paved streets, its high skies and sunshine, its self-respecting, well-dressed people. He is naturally drawn to all things Swedish, and the Bolag comes in for an unjustifiable share in this vague general feeling of satisfaction.

sides this class there is one other which frequents the places—the incurable alcoholists, the riff-raff of the large towns, mostly neuropathic, sick and degenerate men.”

Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell's organ ("Monthly Notes," March, 1912, p. 3) asks plaintively: "Is it suggested that a substantial diminution of the sale of cheap brandy has not taken place in Gothenburg and Stockholm?" To this we would reply, Is it suggested that the per-capita sale of cheap brandy in Sweden, as a whole, has ever fallen again to the record low point (4 liters) of 1860, five years before the Gothenburg Bolag started operations? The Gothenburg Bolag report for 1910 states that the sale of *all* spirits in the Bolag-operated shops in 1875 (statistics given first in this year) amounted to 1,646,740 liters; in 1910, to 2,064,138. The rise in bar sales, where restrictions are in operation, was from 260,836 liters in 1865 to 811,429 in 1910. This rise in gross sales represents, as the city has grown, a fall in per-capita sale from 27.45 liters (1875) to 12.62 (1910). In Stockholm the Bolag gross sales were 4,077,590 in 1877 and 4,904,446 in 1911. Here, too, the per-capita sale has fallen (from 26.56 in 1877 to 14.27 in 1911), but it should be remembered that during the first half only of the Bolag's existence has this per-capita fall to be registered. During the second half sales have remained stationary at a point about double the per-capita sale of Sweden as a whole. Further it should be noted that there is a steady rise in spirit sales in the drinkshops to which the Bolag has sublet the right of selling, from 2,515,973 liters in 1895 (the first year in which figures are given in the Stockholm report) to 3,300,935 liters in 1909, and that the consumption of privately sold beer has increased by leaps and bounds. (In Sweden at large this rise was from 8.3 liters per capita in 1861-70 to 26 liters in 1896-1905. But in the larger cities it must have been far greater.) These facts indicate not that, thanks to the Bolag, the drinking people of Stockholm and Gothenburg are drinking less than formerly, but that they are drinking elsewhere

and other liquors. But even if a per-capita decline in entire alcohol consumption could be proved, there would be no especial reason to attribute this to the Bolag's trivial regulations, or at least to those regulations peculiar to the Bolag. Sunday-closing, for example, which is partial prohibition, has apparently helped to cut down consumption in Gothenburg, as the drunkenness arrests for that day in 1910 were but 590, as compared to 2,613, for Saturday, a day in which Bolag restrictions run full blast. It is monstrous to assume, in using these per-capita statistics, that the ratio of abstainers and drinkers in these two cities is the same as in 1865 in spite of the widespread development of temperance organizations, the revolutionary transformation of the wage-working class by the labor movement, and the general advance in culture.<sup>(1)</sup> In view of the great number of abstainers in Swedish cities (including the women) the consumption of spirits by the balance of the population must, indeed, be frightfully great. Another thing, too, should not be forgotten. The restrictions, such as they are, on the sale of spirits on draught, may have simply thrown the incidence of consumption on the bottle trade. In 1874 the cheap spirits bottle trade in Gothenburg was, per capita, about

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(1) The Summary of the Quinquennial Reports of the Governors, 1901-05 ("Sammandrag af Kung. Ms. Befallningshafvandes Femårsberättelser för åren 1901-05"), p. 22, one of the most important of Swedish official documents, confirms this general line of argument. It affirms that the number of convictions for drunkenness in Sweden in 1905 constituted 83.8% of all court convictions, and then goes on to say, "While the spirits consumption per capita has on the whole fallen, convictions for drunkenness have increased enormously (from 8,726 yearly in 1866-70 to 42,833 yearly in 1901-05). It is probable that the number of non-consumers of spirits has grown, thanks to the temperance movement, in later years powerfully, in comparison with the consuming number, which may even have diminished. A development of this type could also be a natural result of the concentration of the sale of spirits in the cities, which makes it all the more difficult for people in remote country districts to provide themselves with drink. So if the consumption of spirits, reckoned per head of the whole population, has shown a tendency to diminution, it is probable that, reckoned only on the basis of the consuming part of the population, it would show an increase, and this it is which, in a certain degree, can have called forth the increase in drunkenness." In other words, prohibition in the country

a third more than the bar trade; in 1910 it was more than double ("Gothenburg Bolag Report," 1910, p. 8). The Report of the Christiania Samlag for 1895 (p. 21) remarks justly: "It is obvious that it is easier to prevent excess in drinking when drink is consumed on the spot than when it is delivered for home consumption." And the Stockholm Bolag Report, 1910 (p. 1204), declares that "the frightful number of drunks in the city are due, in a very great degree, to the Bolag's bottled spirits. Everybody knows that the most degraded drinker can easily get unlimited amounts of cheap brandy from the Bolag's bottle department." That statement is official!

Dr. Laquer estimates the spirits consumption of the average German wage-worker at 3 glasses of *schnaps* daily. The Bolags of all the Swedish cities in which, in 1900, 1,104,000 persons lived (21.5% of Sweden's population) consumed 23,161,015 liters of spirits in 12 months (1902-3) or 21 liters per person. This would mean, reckoning the male adult population at 295,000, a consumption of 300 gr., or 6 glasses of spirits per man and work-day, excluding all consumption of beer (p. 21).

Laquer flatly denies that the System has had any influence at all on alcohol-caused crime (p. 26). The proportion of

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and the growth of the abstaining fraction of the population, and not the Gothenburg System, have been the determining factors in the Swedish alcohol situation. On page 23 of the same report we get this instructive fact: "Criminality is, in relation to population, enormously greater in the cities than in the country. In 1905 there were convictions (per 100,000 of the population) in Stockholm, 4,480; in all other cities together, 3,445, and in all country districts, 132." Recall that 83.8% of Swedish convictions were for drunkenness and you can realize what prohibition has done for the Swedish country districts.

One incident in the report (p. 20) is worth reproducing. There had been much illicit sale of drink in Västerbotten and Norrbotten provinces, and to end this it was thought best to open places for legal sale in Jockmock and Gällivare. "Since they seemed to cause a greater consumption of spirits in the Lappmark, however, than they should, they were suppressed at the end of three years. By means of a new law forbidding transmission of spirits through the mails and a vigorous conviction of illicit sellers a considerable reduction of consumption of spirits has been brought about in these provinces and especially in their Lappmarks."

those condemned to prison whose crime was committed when intoxicated, does not vary essentially from that elsewhere. As to the number of cases of alcoholism treated in Gothenburg hospitals, he points out that this has steadily risen (from 55 in 1888 to 139 in 1905—per thousand from .58 to 1.01).<sup>(1)</sup> He compares this with an alcoholized part of Bremen to the latter's favor (p. 11).<sup>(2)</sup> Various abuses are mentioned as jockeying with the size of glasses, which in the course of the year would bring in snug sums to the sellers, the selling of beer in some Samlags below the price of mineral water, the planting of drink-shops right in the path of wage-workers—a distinct abuse. These "restaurants" are not placed in the "West-ends."<sup>(3)</sup> He also remarks on the all too human cliques and cousinly friendships in Bolag administrative circles.

"The System enlists the active co-operation of good citizens. . . . Should a manager for any cause fail to carry out the by-laws of the Company his dismissal can be instantly effected." So affirm the theorists (Rowntree and Sherwell, "Temperance Reform," pp. 109 and 127, abridged edition). When a competent witness, Mr. Ulrich, of Saeter, refutes this he is given an insulting name ("Recent Criticisms of the Gothenburg System," 2d series, p. 7) and declared "to represent no large body of opinion." In "Verdandisten" (series of articles in 1911 and 1912) there is a fulness of evidence from this capable observer. He says that practically everywhere through-

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(1) It must be noted in justice to the System that the number has fallen since 1905 again to 102, or .62 to the 1,000.

(2) Mr. Lindman, Minister of State, formerly lived on Master Samuelsgatan in Stockholm, in the neighborhood of a Gothenburg drink-shop. There were always the same fights inside and outside; always drunken persons making the streets unpleasant to passers." The Minister appealed to the System directors "either to close the place or to move it." They moved it. ("Verdandisten," 1911, No. 4.) Does any one think the shop would have been moved if the appeal had come from an honest bricklayer trying to bring up his family in decency? On the 2d of April, 1911, a meeting was held in the Kungsholm church, at which Prof. Santesson spoke, to protest against moving the Company saloon from Scheelegatan to the corner of Hantvårkaregatan and Pipersgatan, a point with vastly more traffic and in the neighborhood of a school and hospital.



out the country drinking people can get orders filled. The Bolag shops are not better than private ones in this respect. Directors carry on the business without regard to existing law. Bottled goods are sold to minors, both boys and girls. In describing a Saturday and Sunday round of the drink-shops he discovers all manner of violations—selling drinks in the bottle department, selling less than a liter in this department, not having prepared food on hand, etc. There is, he says, almost a silent understanding, a freemasonry, between drink-sellers and authorities. While the intoxicated are treated with utmost severity and sent to hard labor those who get them drunk contrary to law are rarely punished. In 1910, in Stockholm, 1,174 arrested persons acknowledged that they had become intoxicated in Bolag retail shops. The law provides for the fining of the sellers in every such case, but these fines are almost never assessed. Mr. Ulrich urges the labor unions to prosecute the System employees every time they get a man drunk. "The wage-workers should show as much solidarity in such cases as during a strike. The drink-sellers would not then drive their business so saucily and so illegally."

"The political power of the distiller is a thing of the past" (Rowntree and Sherwell, p. 125). We have no special reason to believe this. It is stated in "Verdandisten" (August 3, 1911) that the Conservative party in the 1911 elections was in many ways financed by the distillers and brewers. In February, 1911, there was a conference of the drink interests in Stockholm. A petition to the government was drawn up for longer hours of drink-selling on Sunday, for lightening certain penalties for law-violation, for limitation of the powers of the authorities to suppress licenses, for the requiring of a two-thirds majority instead of a bare majority in town councils for closing drink-shops. *Confidential representatives of the Gothenburg System took part in the conference and backed the spirits interests.* Prof. Santesson says ("Strödda Tankar i Alkoholfrågan," p. 27): "The alcohol interests in Sweden work in silence through

a part of the press or otherwise to check the temperance party's efforts in legislation on social lines. One does not come on these people directly, but one suspects their presence on all sides as a cause of the tough resistance which reforms meet that are calculated to forward temperance effort." And Dr. Helenius, in his paper at the 1911 Anti-alcohol Congress at The Hague, asserted that in Finland the shareholders in breweries and distilleries and their numerous friends do all in their power to keep the System saloons open, because the winnings in the last analysis flow into their pockets. The Central Committee of the System in Finland distributed among the members of the Finnish Landtag a brochure urging them to help that the consumption of spirits should not fall further and thus diminish the charity moneys of the cities. They would continue stealing leather, after the fashion of St. Crispin, in order to make shoes for the poor.

The fear of prohibition is the beginning of alcohol wisdom in Sweden as elsewhere. The first Swedish Bolag ever formed was that in Falun. In the latter part of 1911 (that is, only after more than 50 years of existence) its managers hit on the in no way radical idea of refusing sale to recognized drunkards. The Sundsvall Bolag has followed suit, cutting off forty persons, and that of Kristinehamn is also to stop sale "to those who have been sentenced many times for drunkenness." As far as we know these are the only Bolags to take this step, and the motive which has driven them to it is obvious enough. Dr. Eggers,<sup>(1)</sup> who calls himself a disciple of Rowntree, says

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(1) Dr. Eggers contends that State prohibition was introduced some centuries too early (in the U. S.), because the power of the alcohol capital was not first broken (by disinterested management). His information comes presumably from Rowntree and Sherwell who, in 32 pages, count up well-nigh every druggist selling whisky surreptitiously in American prohibition States, but can find no room for the absolutely capital fact that State prohibition is successful in annihilating the whole alcohol manufacture. One can hardly consider this omission unintentional. There are other things, too, which seem to indicate that Rowntree and Sherwell are at least as much interested in blocking prohibition as in introducing Company

("Der Abstinenz," June 1, 1911): "I believe in gradual development. I assume more than one hundred years to the final introduction (of disinterested management). I am always astonished when men want to take the second step before the first." This spirit of deliberation is practically illustrated in Sweden. One is not surprised that the drink interests are not disturbed by it, but that on the contrary they should place paid advertisements (beer, cognac, champagne) in "Gasthaus-Reform," the organ of "disinterested-management" propaganda in Germany ("Die Abstinenz," April, 1912).<sup>(2)</sup>

In Rowntree and Sherwell one gets the *façade* of the System, and fine, indeed, it appears. But one should go around to the back of the house. Read, for example, in Mr. Davidson's "Samlagkamp og Folkedom," 1912 (pp. 17-19), how the Samlag party jockeyed the people of Hønefos out of the election result in 1907 when the Samlag was voted down by 539 to 523. The way in which doubtful irregularities were proved

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control, the fact, for example, that they selected just this caricature "study" of prohibition for special cheap distribution rather than their Gothenburg chapter.

If one wishes to test further their uncritical book one should compare, for example, the chapter on the Russian monopoly with Levin's "Das Branntweinmonopol in Russland." The English writers affirm that this experiment "has been entered into with an honest intention of lessening intemperance." Levin shows that it was undertaken simply because the excise taxing of spirits had been carried to a point where consumption was checked so that some more effective way of bleeding the people had to be devised. Witte chose just those four governments where alcohol consumption was lowest for experiment, and when he found that the consumption there steadily rose, extended the new system to Russia at large. Of course, there is an alcohol fig-leaf, as there is in Gothenburg, but it represents mere hypocrisy. The Monopoly income has risen steadily until in 1911 it reached 782,557,370 rubles. Russia's sorrow has advanced *pari passu*.

Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell print six pages of extravagant eulogy of their book from various deans and dons. Doubtless there is much of value in those sections which have to do with the situation in England. On the other hand, there is little indication of acquaintance with the Continental literature of the drink problem. What can we say, for example, of writers who describe the International Anti-alcohol Congresses indiscriminately as Temperance and Alcoholic (!) Congresses (pp. 116 and 126)?

(2) German Gothenburgers have a model tavern at Marcandsmoor, in E. Frisia. The barmaid is also midwife for the place and gives newly confirmed girls instruction in cooking. How idyllic!

and another election, together with a reversed majority of 87, secured reads marvelously like a page out of American saloon politics. Mr. Davidson also calls attention to the fact that Samlags in Stathelle and Hölen (the last a place of only 167 inhabitants) were established as pure speculations in order to sell in neighboring towns whence the Samlag had been banished. The author affirms, indeed, that "the Samlag represented, for its time, a great progress," but adds, "It has far from answered to the hopes raised by its introduction, and the advantages which it has actually brought with it have been dearly paid for in many ways by disadvantages. After forty years it has developed so many and so great weaknesses that the time may be considered ripe to supplant it by an arrangement better suited for the new day." He affirms that a feeling, very wide-spread even outside the temperance party, finds expression in Burgomaster Berner's words: "The Samlag has been a disappointment to me. We must go on to local prohibition by voting it out." Beside this confession of an old Samlag partisan we may perhaps be allowed to place the recent utterance of Prof. Thyrén, who, as Mr. Berner, is not an abstainer: "No peace is possible before absolute alcohol prohibition is carried." Indeed, one could, in the light of a passage in the Gothenburg Bolag report for 1909 (p. 32-3), go a step farther and ask if the Bolag people themselves really believe in the value of the System. The proposal was made to place under the Bolag various shops where higher-grade spirits were sold by private persons. It was rejected by both the directorate of the Bolag and the city revisors. These last alleged that "if the Bolag should take over these licenses the entire trade in spirits would be monopolized, which would be of no value to genuine temperance activity or to the city's economic interests, and of doubtful value to the consuming public, but a decided injury to private interests hitherto considered legal."

Nothing scientific has yet been written in English on the

Gothenburg System. We are, at present, unable to make a first-hand study of the sources, but have attempted to glean whatever can be found in the Scandinavian literature of the subject. A book of some importance, written by a committee of the Swedish Medical Society and entitled "Alkoholen och Samhället (Alcohol and Society) has just reached us from Stockholm. Its obvious purpose is to sidetrack the Swedish prohibition movement. It represents the extreme opinions of the "moderate" position, describes the Committee of Fifty as "impartial and warmly interested in temperance," actually sets a higher value on Miss Elderton's studies than on those of von Bunge and of Laitinen, and describes Rowntree and Sherwell's "Temperance Reform" as "a standard work." Like other "moderates" the writers exhibit an air, at least, of meticulous objectivity. Thus, in order that one may not get a too bad idea of the misery resulting from a father's alcoholism, they tell us that this "can develop (in wife and children) self-control, mutual love, diligence and good habits." It is from just such typically academic minds that one would expect a eulogy of the Gothenburg System, but from cover to cover there is scarce a word in its praise. They are writing for a public that has gone to bed and gotten up with the System during a half-century.

Nearly half of the volume is occupied with casuistic material, summarized alcoholic biographies, "illustrative of the more important practical sides of the alcohol question." They also illustrate, in the writer's judgment brilliantly illustrate, the impertinence of the assertion that the Swedish Company System has, in any degree, solved the alcohol problem for the Swedish people. I find in these 176 pages six allusions to the System. On p. 237 there is a long description of a hopeless alcoholic which ends with the sentence, "One sees him often loafing in the neighborhood of the Gothenburg System salesroom." On p. 249 a drinker complains that "one can't get *svagdricka* (alcohol-weak beer) at the Gothenburg System" (so that one

is compelled to drink stronger liquor). On p. 270 a drunkard says, "Before the Gothenburg System it was not dangerous. One took several drinks a day and was done with it"; and on p. 271 another drunkard remarks, "Before the Gothenburg System there was rarely so much drunk." On p. 273 another drunkard says, "When the Gothenburg System, with its liter sale, began its activity, things went straight to the woods with me" (a figure apparently for a *descensus Averni*). On p. 300 an alcoholic who became insane said that "in 1902 he was hired as a machinist by the System shop on Mälartorget. He himself thought that this was the cause which led him to misuse spirits. He began to go to the saloons early in the morning, and by 11 o'clock could be full. He drank at least a liter a day, besides beer, and by evening could not take his clothes off, but slept in them."

This is a complete list of the allusions to the System in the second half of "Alkoholen och Samhället." Comment is superfluous.

As to the prevalence of alcoholism in Swedish cities the writers present much evidence. P. 22: "The degrading influence of our drinking customs can hardly be overestimated. They result more often in intoxication than seems to be the case in most other lands. . . ." "Some time ago a Stockholm newspaper compared the sums which Stockholm wage-workers put out on cheap spirits (reckoned after Bolag reports) with that expended in house rent by the same class. The proportion is indeed abnormal, being  $4\frac{1}{2}$  and 5 million kroner respectively. This is exclusive of beer expenses, which are probably even greater . . ." (p. 81). "Saturday night drunkenness is extraordinarily widespread among Stockholm's wage-workers. . . . The drama of the home-coming countryman, liter bottle sticking out of his pocket, traveling down the high road with noise and disorder, is only too well known. There rarely occurs an indignation-awakening deed of violence which is not connected with this barbaric gulping down

of brandy brought home (from the System shop) . . .” (p. 86). “The conditions which prevail in these (Swedish drunkards’) homes are of such a character as to constitute a continual source of astonishment that such things can go on, year after year and to such an enormous extent, in an ordered society. Fathers pawn the most necessary household articles and clothing if the wives do not succeed in hiding them. They smash up in their drunken state furniture, doors and windows, maltreat their wives and drive them and the children out of doors. Thousands of women in our land go to sleep at night after listening to the most dreadful menaces about the blood which is going to run.”

More evidence! “No impartial observer would be willing to deny the highly degrading influence which Swedish drinking habits exert. It is a condition of things to which every one who has visited other European lands can bear witness that, apart from the poorest quarters in English ports, and possibly some other places, one rarely meets with the rough and disgusting conduct of drunken, swearing men, which one is compelled to witness so often in our land. According to reports similar scenes are numerous in Norway and Finland (System countries). When, for example, the pick of our youth are brought together for entrance into their military service, or when they leave this to return home, they have been, for decades, accustomed to intoxicate themselves in such a fashion as to cause the observer to turn away in disgust. First in later years, and not the least because of the energetic intervention of the officers (not of the Gothenburg System,) has an improvement been brought about. . . . During Summer evenings in Stockholm, when one or more warships are anchored out in the stream, a drama can now and then be observed at certain hours, which is without parallel in other lands. Down at Skeppsholm the seamen, who have been out on a leave of absence, are gathered together. Group after group steers its course to the steam launch waiting at the quay. In every

group are carried one or two irretrievably drunken youngsters, and with a skill which argues long practise, the waiting under-officer manages to stow away these young men, one or another sober person being placed on each side of a drunken seaman. Even after the boat has left land one hears inarticulate noises and young, strong bodies execute uncontrolled and reeling movements" (pp. 18, 19).

On p. 150 the writers speak of Sweden as "burdened with alcohol misery." They then take up the subject of the restaurants to which the System sublets rights of sale. "These often make nothing on food sold but depend altogether for profit on drink." The wine-dealers holding Bolag licenses also (p. 121) "drive their spirits business completely as any private dealers. They have signs, advertise publicly and by circular, and are often part-owners of large restaurants. Their full, legitimate interest is to push up the consumption of spirits to the highest possible point. . . . Legally, however, these wine-dealers occupy an in no way enviable position. They are completely in the Bolag's power. This can prescribe whatever conditions it wishes and sees fitting. Up to date there have been hardly any indications on the part of the Bolag of intentions to take any measures save those by which the Bolag's income could be increased. There has hardly been any tendency apparent to do away with the private spirit sale altogether or to bring over the temperance-furthering principles on which the Bolag itself is based." (1)

On p. 157 the writers remark: "The Bolag is forbidden to sell spirits to every depraved drunkard that comes along.

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(1) While there is no evidence of graft on the part of the Bolags in connection with sub-let licenses, the relation might easily open the way for it. A company rents out the majority of its licenses; the profits of these licensed places exceed the profits of the shops which it operates itself; almost six-sevenths of the profits from these sublet licenses go to private pockets, and special privileges are granted holders of sublet licenses, enabling them to sell not only when the Bolag shops are open, but, in some cases, night and day. The Stockholm revisors discover that these license holders, at any rate, are grafting by reporting a considerably lower sale than



Yet violent young criminals, drunkards who have been fined ten times in a year, unknown delirians, masses of alcoholized men with worn-out wives and underfed children, individuals who, in their outer appearance, bear the clear marks of alcoholism, all obtain without any control whatever, in liter quantities, that ware which has made them what they are. It is not at all unusual that one and the same person can buy at a single Bolag shop during the course of a day ten liter of spirits, or more, to retail out" (contrary to law)!

On p. 135 confession is made to the notoriously loose enforcement of Swedish liquor laws. On p. 125 it is averred that the Bolags compete with each other. On pp. 123-24 attention is called to the fact that Bolag restaurants, by their low price of food, prevent alcohol-free restaurants from coming into operation. The young unmarried men who frequent the System restaurants spend for spirits what they save on food. "And the poor, self-supporting women who most of all need nourishing and well-prepared food never visit these places, *which, without doubt, is best for them.*"

No credit is given to the System, as far as I can observe, for reacting against Swedish alcoholism. Other factors, however, are mentioned. P. 106: "The country's great distances, the sparsity of population, the average poor economic condition of the individual, together with the relative difficulty of procuring spirits in the country, have kept down total consumption to a figure considerably lower than that of most other lands." And, on p. 114, the "decided improvement in national drinking customs are attributed to the general education, the steady

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actually occurs, in this way holding back money due the Bolag (Stockholm Report for 1909, p. 1119), and fine twenty-one of them 42,990 kroner. In 1909 these sublet shops sold cheap bottled cognac to the amount of 1,900,000 liters. How lively this sale has been can be gathered from the 1910 report (p. 1152). On Midsummer Day, between 12 and 2, five dealers were visited by 1,215 purchasers, and on Dec. 4, between 4 and 5, six were visited by 1,196! This did not include sales by telephone! These facts might help to explain why more drink is not sold in the Bolag-operated shops.

improvement in social conditions and the strong temperance movement."

The proposals for reform offered by this committee constitute a pretty serious indictment against the expounders of Gothenburgism for misrepresentation. Just those features which these gentlemen have stated to be in successful operation are here proposed as promising future reforms. Thus, p. 149: "It is desirable that the drink-shops (of the G. S.) more and more develop into restaurants where a glass of spirits shall not be sold without food." Then follows an amazing confession: "Bar sale without food can, however, with the present system of bottle sale, have its justification. It can hardly be denied that in places where such sales are done away with many, who were content to go into a saloon several times a day to take a drink, now provide themselves with a liter in the morning, of which little remains by evening." The committee also argues (p. 143) that private economic interest should be transferred from alcohol sale to the sale of substitutes for alcohol (coffee, berry and fruit juices, light beer, etc.). What we have been taught to be accomplished fact is, so it seems, vague *Zukunfts-musik*.

Dr. Gould alleges that the Gothenburg System has divorced drink-selling from prostitution. True! But Dr. Scharffenberg affirms that the neighborhood of Christiania drink-shops constitute an operating-ground for prostitutes. At least, add others, the Bolags do not sell drink on credit. True! But, as Mr. Ljungren points out, there is nothing to prevent the pawn-shops from taking a man's last rag when he is determined to drink. What is to be thought of the sense of responsibility exhibited by those who deal out Samlag licenses in Christiania who for years allotted a license to the Students' Society of the University for the sale of punch, whisky and other strong liquors (this in addition to a wine and beer license which the students still operate)? Three years ago the license was withdrawn because of scandalous irregularities in its operation—sale to others than students, sale after midnight and exploita-

tion for financial profit. Mr. Davidson remarks that Samlag partisans are less and less inclined to take part in public discussion during local-option fights. In view of such facts we do not wonder at it!

But nothing can disconcert Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell. In "Monthly Notes," April, 1912 (p. 7), they say:

"As a matter of fact, the System was never so efficiently worked, both in Norway and Sweden, as it is at the present time, nor was its administration ever so free from abuses and defects."

This is bad enough, but the attempt to make out that the temperance leaders in Scandinavia are satisfied with the present situation is indeed inexcusable. We would commend as sufficient proof to the contrary a pamphlet which the Norwegian temperance party has printed for mass distribution, entitled "Til Kamp mot Drukkenskapen." One of the writers affirms (p. 6) that, on an average, every thirty-fifth minute, night and day, winter and summer, from January first to the next New Year's morning, the prison doors of Christiania open to receive a drunken man or woman.<sup>(1)</sup>

Professor Jensen, of Bergen, has described the 1907 Samlag votings in Norway. In many places people stood out in the rain until the vote was counted. When word came that the Samlag was turned down hats would come off, while Gustaf Adolf's hymn, "God is Our Strength," would rise from all throats. In Dr. Laquer's monograph we read of country women coming in from outlying places to help town women in their house work, so that all might get to the polls to vote the Samlag out of existence. In the last general meeting of

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(1) On p. 12 Mr. Isene prints a striking table showing how the System has massed its shops about market-places, in the neighborhood of wharves, and along the currents of traffic. There are seventeen parishes in Christiania with seventy-one spirits-shops, retail and otherwise. More than half of these (thirty-six) are pitched into one parish (Vor Frelzers, Our Saviour's). This parish has 7,234 people and *one drink-shop to every seventy-four people* (including beer-shops not under Samlag control). Three parishes with 36,000 people have no shop! A fourth Kampen has one to 8,447 people.

the Norwegian Temperance Party, at Kristiansand (December 28, 1911), Mr. Hvidsten spoke of the attempts, in 1907, to restore the Samlags in towns which had gotten rid of them. This happened in Risør, Lillesand, Farfund, Stenkjaer, Levanger and Porsgrund. Of the 7,535 votes cast 950, or 12%, were wet; 6,585, or 88%, dry. In Risør the vote stood 1,810 to 53 against the return of the Samlag.

More and more apparent is the drift toward prohibition in both Norway and Sweden. During a lock-out in the summer of 1911, many Samlags were closed by order of the government, and others run on half time. The result was, as in Sweden in 1909, of a highly educative character. In Drammen, for example, arrests for drunkenness fell to one-third of the usual number in the forty days' interim. In Sarpsborg there were but 2 against 60 in the preceding weeks. "Ny Tid," a Socialist paper in Trondhjem, reported that as a result of this prohibition experience organized labor was more and more taken with the idea of a systematic campaign for shutting up the Trondhjem Samlag in 1913.

When the weaknesses of the Company System are pointed out many object that these can be corrected. This is, perhaps true of some of them, but in practise they have not been corrected after nearly half a century. Threatened prohibition, however, is stirring the Bolag people to the thought, at least, of better courses. Mr. Andrée, director of the Gothenburg Bolag, proposes that bottled goods be sold henceforth only to persons provided with an authorization card, as drugs are sold at apothecary shops only on prescription. But, as it is true that the relative success of "regulation" always depends on the extent of prohibitory sentiment in the background, so it is also true that when this sentiment has actually attained political power there is little likelihood of its being satisfied with anything short of the end of the free sale of the narcotic poison, alcohol.

And this is the situation in Sweden.



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